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HROSVITHAE LIBER TERTIUS

A Text with Translation, Introduction
and Commentary

by

SISTER MARY BERNARDINE BERGMAN,
A.B., A.M.

of

The Sisters of Saint Benedict
of

Covington, Kentucky

A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1942



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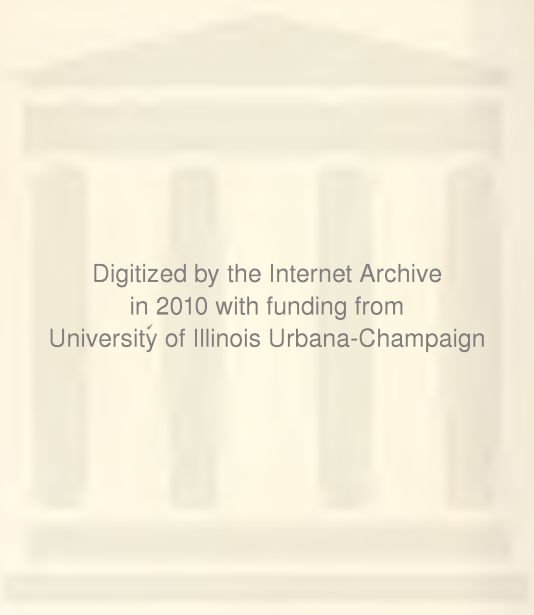
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CORDI JESU
IN QUO SUNT OMNES THESAURI SAPIENTIAE
ET SCIENTIAE

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PREFACE

The works of Hrotsvit¹, tenth century nun of Gandersheim, include three books; namely, Book One, *Legends*; Book Two, *Dramas*; Book Three, *Historical Epics*. The *Legends* were translated into English by Sister M. Gonsalva Wiegand in 1936. The *Dramas* can be found translated whole, or in part at least, in most of the literatures dealing with that period, as well as in the works of individual writers, but the translation of Cristabel Marshall (by pseudonym Christopher St. John), which appeared in 1923, is, as far as the present writer is aware, the best recognized complete translation. Although a number of German translations, as listed in the Bibliography, were made of Book Three, no English translation exists for the *Historical Epics* proper, the *Gesta Ottonis* and the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*; Marshall, however, has rendered the Preface into English.

The purpose of the present monograph, therefore, is to edit the *Historical Epics* with an English translation, an introduction, and a commentary, thereby making the last of Hrotsvit's works available to all who are interested in the Saxon poet.

The text is the critical Teubner edition of Karolus Strecker, *Hrotsvithae Opera*, with such minor changes as are noted in the introduction.

A reproduction of the sketch of the author's life and career seemed of little value in the present study, since the few known facts of her biography have been rehearsed repeatedly not only in the literatures of the period, but also by the writers who have dealt with some aspect of her work.

¹ Since the number and variety of spellings of the name are still a moot question, the above spelling, except in quotations, has been consistently adopted for convenience.

In the Introduction the treatment of the various phases, notably that entitled 'Historical.....Significance', has been greatly facilitated by the essay *Hrotsvitha, Gandersheim, and the Saxon House*--by Sister M. Hilda Obermeier, O.S.B.

The translation aims to give as accurate a version as possible of the thought of the poet, and yet to be as literal as is consistent with idiomatic English.

In the Commentary, the syntactical treatment, in addition to references in Newnan's, *The Latinity of the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, has been based chiefly on Leumann-Hofmann's revision of the *Lateinische Grammatik* of Stolz-Schmalz and the *Ausführliche Lateinische Grammatik* of Kühner-Stegmann. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has been the principal authority for vocabulary. For words not yet included in the Thesaurus, the lexica of Georges, Benoist-Goelzer, Harpers', Forcellini, and Du-Cange have been employed in the order named. Available monographs on Late Latin writers have been found useful. References to parallel passages and echoes whether Scriptural or Classical have been verified and for the most part cited. Historical allusions have been noted and discussed.

The abbreviations used in the citations are those of the *Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum* to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Additional ones employed for the works of Hrotsvit are:

Abr. = Abraham;	Agn. = Passio Sanctae Agnetis;
Bas. = Basilius;	Cal. = Calimachus;
Dulc. = Dulcitius;	Gest. = Gesta Ottonis;
Mar. = Maria;	Pafn. = Pafnutius;
Prim. = Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis;	
Theoph. = Lapsus et Conversio Theophili;	
Diony. = Passio Sancti Dionisii;	
Gong. = Passio Sancti Gongolfi;	
Pelag. = Passio Sancti Pelagii;	
Sap. = Sapientia.	

Abbreviations for texts are found in parentheses in the Bibliography. The various periods of Latinity have been designated as follows: Early, all Latin before Cicero; Classical, the prose of the Golden Age; Silver,

the Latin from the death of Augustus to that of Suetonius; Late, all Latin from Apuleius on; Poetic, that peculiar to the poets of whatever age; Ecclesiastical, all Christian Latin.

It is with sincere gratitude that I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation and indebtedness to Associate Professor Doctor William Charles Korfmacher, Secretary of the Department of Classical Languages, for suggesting the subject of the present dissertation, and for his generous, untiring assistance and stimulating direction throughout the course of this work. To Reverend Otto James Kuhnmuensch, S.J., Professor of Classical Languages and Director of the Department, to Reverend James Aloysius Kleist, S.J., Professor of Classical Languages, to Reverend Claude Herman Heithaus, S.J., Assistant Professor of Classical Archeology, to Chairman and Adviser Doctor Chauncey Edgar Finch, Assistant Professor of Classical Languages, to Doctor Millett Henshaw, Associate Professor of English, I am deeply grateful for their careful reading of the manuscript and for their valuable criticisms and suggestions. Finally, I desire to express my appreciation to my Superior, to the members of my Community, and to all who have helped to make the present study possible.

Sister Mary Bernardine Bergman, O.S.B.

Saint Louis

*Feast of the Epiphany,
January 6, 1942.*

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INTRODUCTION

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A. THE TEXT

The text of the present edition is basically that of Karolus Strecker, edited in 1906 and revised in 1930. It belongs to the Series *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Whatever departures from the text or revisions have been made are noted in the Commentary, together with occasional transposition of verses by Strecker as compared with other editors.

Since the codices of the poems extant at various times have been fully treated by Strecker in his Preface and again by Wiegand in her Introduction, there is no need to devote additional space to the subject here.

Scriptural allusions and quotations have been compared with the Vulgate and, unless too lengthy, have been quoted from it.

For convenience the lines in the Preface are listed, not as in Strecker, but consecutively as in the present Latin text.

B. OCCASION AND DATE

The *Gesta Ottonis* and the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis* are Historical Epics, not of the exalted Vergilian type, but rather in the manner of a beautiful family picture or history of the Ottonian House with Otto I, as the most conspicuous historical personage.

Baumgartner¹ aptly expresses his opinion of the poems thus:Sie versuchte es, war sich aber klar darueber, dass ein Epos im grossen Stile ueber ihre Kraefte ging. Dagegen ist ihr ein schoenes episches Familien-gemaelde des Ottonischen Kaiserhauses in hohem Grade gelungenes, aus welchem die weltgeschichtliche Gestalt Otto I. majestaetsvoll hervorragt.

Abbreviations in footnote references are given in the Bibliography, writers are cited by name and page.

¹ Baumgartner, vol. 4, p. 349.

Chronologically the incidents of the *Primordia* precede those of the *Gesta*, and Pfund and Gundlach treat them in this order. Strecker, however, follows the reversed arrangement, and it is possible that Hrotsvit composed them in this sequence. Cardinal Casquet² maintains that Celtes changed the order, "which", he says, "is to be regretted, as it is obviously chronological...".

Despite their apparent disparity of theme the poems are companion pieces, the one supplementing or elucidating the events of the other. In the *Gesta Ottonis*, Hrotsvit sings the praises of the deeds of the Saxon royal family; in the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis* she discloses the root of their power, or as Gundlach³ expresses it: "...im Otto-Liede zeigt Hrotsvitha nur das gewaltige Emporstreben des sächsischen Königsstammes, während sie in dem Epos 'Candersheim' die Wurzeln seiner Kraft aufdeckt....".

Several times in the Preface of the *Gesta Ottonis* and elsewhere, the poet emphasizes the fact that she undertook this, to her a seemingly impossible task, in compliance with the request of her Abbess, Gerberga II. Addressing her Superior, she says, "Id quidem oneris mihi inposuistis, ut gesta caesaris augusti, quae nec auditu unquam affatim valui colligere, metrica percurrere ratione"⁴.

And again: "Praesertim cum si meae praesumptionis, sed vestrum causa iussionis huius stamen onusculi coernerim ordiri"⁵.

Somewhat later in the First Prologue we read:

Causa sed est operis tantum devotio mentis⁶.

Political events and the fact that a prince of Gerberga's own House was responsible for the glory and the splendor that Germany was enjoying in her day evidently influenced her, a descendant of the Saxon royal family, in her desire that Hrotsvit should thus perpetuate the memory of that illustrious House. The nuns, moreover, of the Gandersheim Monastery, which was founded by the Saxon Dynasty, and which probably numbered among its members relatives of the royal family⁷, were consequently interested in the

2 In Christopher St. John, Introduction, p. xi.

3 Gundlach, p. 325.

4 Preface, 9-11.

5 Ibid. 40-41.

6 Prol. 1.16.

7 Heinrich, p. 11, *passim*.

success of Otto the Great. Not only, therefore, by prayers, but likewise by a panegyric representation of his marvelous deeds did they wish to express their joy and gratitude.

The most significant facts for establishing the date of these Epics are the internal evidences found in these poems themselves. In the Preface of her First Book Hrotsvit calls Gerberga abbess and niece of the emperor: "...deinde prona favente clementia regiae indolis Gerbergae, cuius nunc subdor dominio abbatissae. Quae aetate minor, sed, ut imperialem decebat neptem, scientia provectior,..."⁸

Since Gerberga became abbess in 955 and Otto the Great was crowned in 962, the works could not have been written before this period. The poet, moreover, represents Archbishop Bruno, brother of Otto, who died in 965, as living. Archbishop William of Mainz, likewise, to whom Hrotsvit submitted her work for approval, "...Vestro autem vestrique familiarissimi.....scilicet archipraesulis Wilhelmi, iudicio,...aestimandum relinquo"⁹, was still officiating. He died in 968. The coronation, too, of Otto the Great in 962 and that of Otto II in 967 are discussed.

From these computations, therefore, one may reasonably conclude that the poems were composed not before 962 and not later than 968. Schneid¹⁰ assigns 967 as the date. Pfund¹¹ asserts that the work was completed either in January or February of 968: "...Das Buch wurde 968 Ende Januar oder Februar fertig der Aebtissin Gerberg übergeben zur Uebersendung an Wilhelm, der es den beiden Odonen darbringen sollte. Schon am 2 März starb Wilhelm.....".

C. AUTHENTICITY

Whatever question has been raised by Aschbach's¹² fanciful and ingenious treatise which raised a controversy regarding the authenticity of the works of Hrotsvit, on the ground that the style was too elegant, the Latin too

8 Strecker, p. 2.1-4.

9 Preface, 47-50.

10 Schneid in *Cath. Ency.*, vol. 7, p. 507.

11 Pfund, p. x.

12 Aschbach, pp. 1-62.

good to be the product of a woman of the rustic tenth century, has been challenged and answered by his opponent Koenke¹³. Gundlach¹⁴ and Wiegand¹⁵ discuss in detail this so-called Hrotsvit-controversy.

D. ANALYSIS AND SOURCES

The *Gesta Ottonis* begins with an address in poetic prose to the Abbess Gerberga; this and two dedications, one to Otto I, and the other to his son Otto II, precede the poem. The poem itself consists of 1517 verses, of which, unfortunately, lines 753-1140 and lines 1189-1478 have been lost. As an aid in indicating the plan and the general content of the Epics, the following brief tabular analysis may be of value:

1. Introduction (verses 1-125) treats events from 919 to 936.
2. History of the kingship of Otto I-- his battles and victories (verses 125-466); it covers the period from the death of Henry in 936, to the marriage of Liudulf in 948.
3. Death of Lothar; the sufferings, persecution, and rescue of his wife, Queen Adelaide (verses 466-735). It embraces the years from 950 to 953.
4. Liudulf's uprising against his father, Otto I, which resulted in Civil War (verses 737-1188). Of this section verses 753 to 1141 are lost, and therefore the period covered is somewhat indefinite.
5. Establishment of the Empire and the coronation of Otto I. Of this section only verses 1479 to 1483 are extant.
6. Epilogue (verses 1483-1517)¹⁶.

¹³ Koenke, in *Ottonische Studien*, vol. 2, pp. 1-25.

¹⁴ Gundlach, pp. 207-224.

¹⁵ Wiegand, pp. xi-xii.

¹⁶ Ebert, vol. 2, pp. 308-310.

In the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*, a poem consisting of an Address of six verses and the Epic itself of 594 verses, Hrotsvit indicates the intimate relationship existing between the Saxon House and the Gandersheim Monastery. She recounts:

1. Liudulf's noble descent, and his position as ruler of Saxony.
2. His marriage to Oda, daughter of the Frankish Billung and Aeda.
3. The prophecies and promises of St. John the Baptist to Aeda.
4. The miraculous appearance of lights in the forest--their significance.
5. The erection of the monastery by Liudulf and Oda in compliance with the requests of St. John the Baptist to Aeda, as a condition for the fulfillment of the promises.
6. The premature death of Liudulf.
7. The dedication of Gandersheim.
8. Its rulers--the first three abbesses members of the Saxon royal family.

Hrotsvit terminates the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*, and rightly so, with the death of Christine, 919, who, until Gerberga II, in 959, was the last of the Saxon House to hold the position of abbess. By limiting, moreover, the Epic to this period, making the history of the Convent of Gandersheim the history of the Liudulfinger House, the poet again gives evidence of the Monastery's great interest in the royal family of Saxony and its indebtedness thereto.

Ebert¹⁷ voices a similar opinion:

¹⁷ Ebert, vol. 2, pp. 313-314.

Mit Recht endet hier Hrotsvith die Primordia des Klosters: mit dem Tode Christinens war ein Abschnitt gegeben, ihr folgte zunächst (bis auf Gerberg II.) keine Aebtissin aus dem Liudolfischen Hause mehr. Bis dahin war die Leitung des Klosters ganz in den Händen der Familie, die es gegründet, insbesondere in denen des weiblichen Hauptes derselben, der Mutter Oda gewesen. Indem Verfasserin auf diesen Abschnitt der Klostergeschichte sich beschränkt, bekundet sie einmal wider das nahe persönliche Interesse, das sie an dem Königshause nimmt, aber auch den Sinn für eine einheitliche Komposition, wodurch auch dieses Werkchen sich von manchen älteren historischen Dichtungen und den spätern Reimchroniken wohl unterscheidet.

The most reliable information, perhaps, that we have about the sources employed in the *Gesta Ottonis* comes from the remarks of the poet herself. In her Address to Gerberga she apprises us of the following facts: "...Quia haec eadem ne prius scripta repperi,...¹⁸"; and in the Dedication to Otto I, she further asserts:

Sed non exemplum quisquam mihi prae-buit horum
Nec scribenda prius scripti docuere libelli:...¹⁹

Wattenbach²⁰, however, contends that the members of the imperial family furnished her with material. Among these, Gerberga, the daughter of Duke Henry and niece of Otto I, was certainly in a position to supply her with accurate data about the history of the Saxon Dynasty. It is quite probable, however, that, to shield her father, she withheld many noteworthy historical facts, otherwise Hrotsvit would hardly have complained: "...nec ab aliquo digestim sufficienterque dicta elicere quivi...²¹".

From the fact that the poet submitted her work to the scrutiny of Archbishop William of Mainz, one may conclude that she evidently had gleaned much valuable information from him. Pfund²² somewhat emphatically maintains that: "...Erzbischof Wilhelm und die Aebtissin Gerberg haben den Stoff geliefert, von Hrotsvitha ist er verarbeitet".

It does not seem possible, moreover, that Adelaide, the Italian Queen and the second wife of Otto I, who

18 Preface, 13-14.

19 Prol., l. 14-15.

20 Wattenbach, p. 171.

21 Preface, 14-15.

22. Pfund, p. x.

appears as an important character in the poem, often mentioned her trials and that Hrotsvit frequently heard from her own lips the account of the oppressions, imprisonment, and flight that she had endured.

As noted in the Commentary²³, the Saxon poet could have had access to the work of Widukind and of Liudprand, both of whom wrote histories of the Ottos. The latter, whose *Antapodosis* contains a history of Italian affairs from 887-949, is, however, a mere chronicle given to bitter invectives. His *Gesta Ottonis* treats really only one episode of Otto's achievements, that of the deposition of Pope John XII. The historical value of his work is, moreover, insignificant²⁴. But Widukind in his *Sachsengesichte*²⁵ gives a detailed account both of the coronation of Otto I, and the feud between the two brothers, Henry and Otto. Hrotsvit treats neither of these events extensively.

For the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*, besides the oral traditions of the senior members of her community, the poet found in her own monastery written sources. At her disposal were the *Vita Hathumodae* of Agius, letters and documents of Duke Liudulf regarding the foundation of this monastery and historical records of the many donations made to this Convent by the members of the Saxon House, as well as by King Louis, son of Louis the German, and by other sovereigns of that time²⁶. These written sources add to the worth of the Epic.

E. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

For consistency and convenience, the poems will be considered chronologically in this section rather than in the sequence of the translation.

It is not the writer's intention to give a detailed account of the Saxon Emperors or of the history of the ninth and tenth centuries--any general history will furnish this information--but merely to include such data as are considered essential for a better understanding and appreciation of the two Epics.

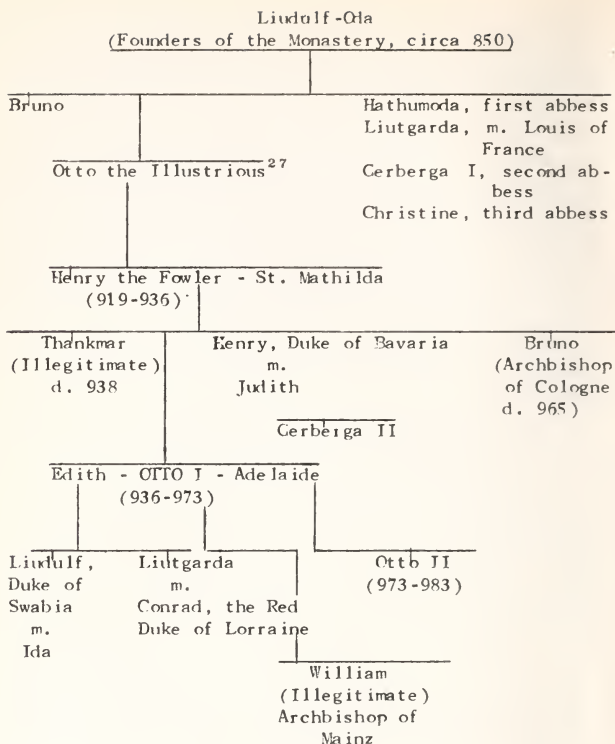
The following brief outline, compiled principally--except for dates--from the information afforded in the poems, may help to clarify and illustrate the intimate relation between the Saxon royal family and the monastery of Candesheim.

23 Commentary, p. 1.

24 Guggenberger, vol. 1, p. 209 note.

25 Gundlach, pp. 407-433.

26 Gundlach, pp. 325-404; Pfund, p. xi; Migne, vol. 137, 1170-1195; *M.G.H.*, vol. 4, 165-189.



By the treaty of Verdun in 843, Saxony fell to Louis the German, the last of the Carolingian line in Germany. He, about 850, appointed Liudulf, a Saxon noble, as margrave to defend the eastern frontier which was being harassed by the Normans and the Slavs. Liudulf, who is sometimes called "Duke of East Saxony", carried on a vigorous warfare against the Slavs and extended his influence over other parts of Saxony. He in turn was succeeded by his sons Bruno and Otto the Illustrious²⁸.

²⁷ Gundlach, *passim*, mentions other children of Otto the Illustrious, but since they are omitted in the poems and are historically unimportant they are not included here. No mention of the wife of Otto could be found, although the search was prolonged and intensive.

²⁸ Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, p. 371, et al.

In 911, when the last of the Carolingians in Germany passed away, both Franks and Saxons offered the crown to Otto, but because of his advanced age, he diverted the choice to Conrad I of Franconia. Conrad I, a descendant of Charlemagne in the female line, was elected by the three nations of Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia. Conrad, in attempting to strengthen the unity of his kingdom, became involved in a weary succession of feudal wars with his unruly vassals, including Duke Henry of Saxony, by whom he was eventually defeated. He, moreover, had to defend the country against the incursions of the Danes, Slavs, and Hungarians. In a battle with the latter he is said to have been mortally wounded in 918. Dying he is reported to have declared, "the future of the realm lies with the Saxons", and he bade his brother Eberhard to bear the royal insignia to Henry, Duke of Saxony, as the one man capable of restoring the glory of the German name²⁹.

As a result of the internal feuds and wars, in addition to the ravages and plundering raids of the barbarous hordes, western Europe in the second half of the ninth century was in a state of general chaos.

With the accession of Henry began the work of pacification, which was completed by his son, Otto the Great (936-973). The Hungarians were crushed, the Germans formed into a strong kingdom, and in 952 when Otto was crowned at Rome by Pope John XII, the Holy Roman Empire was established for the second time. His reign, sometimes called "Die Ottonische Renaissance", marks the beginning of a definite revival³⁰.

Historians are unanimous in agreeing that Otto I merited the title, "great":

Otto is with justice called great. His empire was not so vast, his government not so centralized, his abilities not so versatile, as Charles the Great's; but it must be remembered that his power was largely built on Saxony, and that Saxony had behind it less than two hundred years of Christianity and civilization, while the Frankish Empire had had all of four centuries of historic development to build upon. Moreover feudalism, with its centrifugal institutions and intense local tendency, was stronger in the tenth than in the eighth century and could not be so coerced as in the days of Charlemagne. The

29 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 179.

30 Wright and Sinclair, p. 172.

historic importance of the reign of Otto the Great is that he gave to the broken and feudalized Europe of his day a new unity, that he made feudalism constructive instead of destructive and again exhibited the type of a sovereign whose sanction was high, whose aim was wide, and whose power was strong³¹.

His son, Otto II, who succeeded him was far different in training and disposition. Moreover, the exceptional situation of Bavaria, rendered the condition of affairs at his accession far from cheering. After a brief reign of ten years, Otto III, followed by Henry II, succeeded to the throne. These were the last emperors of the Saxon line.

Even as the titles imply, both the *Gesta Ottonis* and the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis* offer important historical information. "The vivid concise verse renders admirably those highly colored and tumultuous times³²". Two episodes, especially, have proved valuable sources for historians: the marriage of Otto to the Anglo-Saxon princess, Edith (94-125); and the trials of Queen Adelaide (481-597). In the former account, the poet sketches for us in detail the family relation of the Anglo-Saxon House; in the latter she furnishes us with a reliable, original account of an historical event which later writers have embellished with legends and fables. Regarding the account of the Italian queen, Adelaide, Carter³³ says, "An episode of much beauty is the flight of Adelaide of Lombardy from her prison on Lake Garda, to lie in hiding in a field of corn till she can make her escape to the fortress of Canossa, where the Emperor Otto claims her for his wife".

Raby³⁴, however, rather disparagingly remarks, "Her narrative has often been examined by historians, but it adds little to our knowledge of the period". While Ebert³⁵, on the contrary, stoutly maintains that, "Dass es als historische Quelle von mannichfacher Werthe ist, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung".

In determining the historical accuracy and value of the work, it must be borne in mind that Hrotsvit's heroes and characters were, for the most part, living persons. Hence, although she tried to be just, she felt herself frequently compelled to suppress events entirely, or at least to rehearse incidents in such a way as to throw no disparaging light on the Saxon royal family. It is a question, therefore, rather of an omission of historical

31 Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1. pp. 384-385.

32 Carter, *Dublin Review*. vol. 192, pp. 285-286.

33 Ibid. pp. 285-286.

34 Raby, p. 209.

35 Ebert, vol. 2, p. 314.

data than of false representation. Pfund³⁶ sympathetically recognizes this situation when he maintains: "Es war eine schwierige Ausgabe, nicht unwahr zu werden und doch ihre Aebtissin, die Tochter des Herzogs Heinrich, der so viel Irrungen im Kaiserhause verursacht, nicht zu beleidigen, und hier zeigt die Dichterin bei aller Rücksicht doch Wahrheitsliebe".

In the *Gesta Ottonis* the following misrepresentations or errors have been noted:

Lines 20-21 allow sixteen years for Henry's reign, while in reality he ruled from April 14, 919, to July 2, 936³⁷.

It was not the nocturnal seizure by the soldiers as represented in the Epic that caused Henry's captivity, lines 179-188, but Thankmar, his half-brother, caused it³⁸

Otto I, lines 194-198, does not rescue Henry directly, as indicated, but only indirectly³⁹.

In lines 202-297, the poet passes over the feud between Otto I and Henry, the father of Gerberga. She, in shielding his baseness, blames only Eberhard and Gilbert for the civil war in 939, although Henry, according to historians, was the instigator of it⁴⁰.

In the attempted fratricide, 320-335, "the wiles of the ancient foe" and external coercion are the poisonous factors responsible for the heinous deed. Again history points to the contrary, showing that Henry had perfect freedom regarding the conspiracy⁴¹.

Berengar I, line 485, is erroneously taken for the father of Berengar II, king of Italy. He was his grandfather, father of Gisela, mother of Berengar I⁴².

The undertaking of Liudulf, lines 608-614, because of the intrigues of Duke Henry, was a failure rather than the triumph represented in the poems⁴³.

36 Pfund, p. x.

37 Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, pp. 373-376; *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, pp. 179-186.

38 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 188; Giesebrecht, p. 255.

39 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 188; Koepke und Duemmler, p. 15.

40 Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, p. 377; *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 189.

41 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 190; Koepke und Duemmler, p. 81.

42 Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, p. 378-380; Koepke und Duemmler, p. 112.

43 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 195; Pfund, p. 52 note; Koepke und Duemmler, pp. 192-193.

Otto I, lines 615-618, instead of rejoicing, was angry because Liudulf undertook this rash expedition⁴⁴.

Liudulf, lines 666-674, annoyed by the affairs of Italy and disappointed in Queen Adelaide's attitude toward Henry, returned to Germany of his own accord and not in compliance with the request of his father to govern the Saxons during the stay of Otto I in Italy⁴⁵.

Not willingly did Otto, lines 701-703, as described, forgive Berengar, but only after three days waiting did he even permit him to come into his presence⁴⁶.

Liudulf's motive in the second campaign, lines 1150-1151, instead of being solely for the purpose of increasing his father's glory, as depicted in the Epic, was chiefly to blot out his former⁴⁷ disgrace and to compensate for the losses then entailed

Omission of the details of important historical incidents and failure to give definite dates leave the poem somewhat colorless. Only once does the poet speak of Beleck, line 181, and the banks of the Rhine, verse 289. Birten, Breisach, Andernach, places intimately associated with the activities of Otto I, are not mentioned⁴⁸.

The Avars, verse 378, only, are spoken of: the encounters with the Slavs, the Danes, the West Franks and others are dismissed with

Subdens gentiles Christi servis nationes⁴⁹.

Besides the direct members of the ruling House, only Conrad, Eberhard, Gilbert, Herman, and Udo are mentioned; Thankmar, Cero, and Herman Billung are not spoken of or named⁵⁰.

Yet in spite of these deficiencies, no one will deny that, if judiciously used, the *Gesta Ottonis* has great historical significance.

44 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 195; Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, pp. 380-381 et al.

45 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 195; Koepke und Duemmler, p. 200.

46 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 195; Koepke und Duemmler, p. 204.

47 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, p. 196; Giesebrecht, p. 451.

48 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, pp. 179-204.

49 *Gest.* 144.

50 *C.M.H.*, vol. 3, pp. 179-204; Thompson, *M.A.*, vol. 1, pp. 361-389.

The *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*, on the other hand, because of its reliable written sources surpasses the *Gesta Ottonis* in historical value: "Dadurch erhält diese Gründungsgeschichte von Candersheim einen viel höheren historischen Werth als das von manigsachen politischen und Familienrücksichten bedingte Gedicht von Oddo I Thaten⁵¹."

Except for a few legends which are easily discernible and an error in verse 363, where the poet confused the Hungarians with the Normans, this poem is true to history.

Strecker⁵² considers this the most beautiful of Hrotsvit's works: "Das Gedicht ist, so weit ich sehe, wenig bekannt, und doch ist es nach meinem Empfinden das Schoenste, was wir der Dichterin verdanken, 'echte, schoenste Heimatkunst im X. Jahrh'".

F. SYNTACTICAL AND STYLISTIC FEATURES

In this section the two poems, because of similarity of vocabulary, structure, and style, will not be treated individually, but will be considered as one work, "The Epics", and representative passages will be cited from the work as a whole.

A detailed study of the Latinity of the poems would be superfluous here, since that forms the subject of a separate monograph, that of Miss Newnan. In the Commentary, however, attention has been called to all important references in Newnan, and, in addition, a number of syntactical deviations from the Classical norm have been discussed in the order of their occurrence in the text. All words, moreover, that do not occur or occur only rarely in Classical Latin have been treated. Furthermore, changes in meaning deviating from Classical usage have been noted.

It may be useful at this point, however, to assemble and to treat briefly in a short summary the words and stereotyped phrases which, because of their frequency, have either been omitted in the Commentary or have been referred to this section.

⁵¹ Pfund, p. xi.

⁵² Strecker, in *Neue Jahrbuecher fuer das Klassische Altertum*, p. 573

meritum: employed in a variety of meanings; in the Early and Late sense of "deserts"; in the religious sense of "merit", "virtue", or "good works"; frequently in the ablative -- *merito* or *inmerito* without *cum* as in Classical authors. Its occurrence has been noted 27 times.

obsequium: employed with various meanings; in the Silver sense of "deference", or "respect"; in the Late sense of "service", or "worship". It is treated in the Commentary, *Gest.* 353. It occurs 10 times.

pietas: occurs most frequently in the sense of "kindness", "pity", or "compassion", but it is also found with the restricted meaning of *pietas* in Eccl. Latin used to denote piety, devotion, and holiness. Its use has been noted 18 times, sometimes with *maternitas*, sometimes without.

plebs; as the equivalent of the Classical *populus*, meaning, "the whole people", is a Late usage; of K-Schm. 2.308. This usage occurs 13 times in the Epics.

votum: in the sense of "wish", "desire", used first in the Augustan poets and in prose from Livy on. Cf. Liv. 7.40.6, "eius me compotem voti facere vos potestis"; 2.15.3, "ea esse vota (eam esse voluntatem) omnium ut...". Cf. K-Schm. 2.754. The word occurs 10 times used interchangeably in the sense of "wish", "prayer", and "vow".

modicum: a Late Latin word cited for Apul., Cass., et al. It occurs 5 times.

supernus: this word is not found in Cic., or Caes.,; it is chiefly Poetic, Silver, and Late, being cited for Plin. and Amm. Hrotsvit employs it 12 times in the poem.

solamen: the Poetical for the Classical *solacium* occurs 12 times.

ocius: the opposite of *tardius*, or *serius* cf. K-Schm. 2.63, employed in the sense of "earlier" (sooner) or "later", the German *früher* oder *später*. "That which will be written or done sooner or later". The word

does not occur in prose before Livy. Cf. Georges. Krotsvit uses it 6 times.

famulatus: (*famulor*) in Late Latin this word has undergone a semantic change; used in the sense of "devotion", "zeal", or "service"; whereas in Cic. it is construed as a condition of slavery. For Late Latin it is cited for Aug., Novell. Theod., Cassian., Sidon., Ennod., Alc. Avit., et al. The word occurs 11 times in the poems used in the Late sense.

Greek words: A number of greek words are employed in the poems, some of which, because of their use, have been mentioned in the Commentary. Here they are listed in the order of their frequency: *coenobium* occurs 18 times; *ecclesia*, 16 times; *hymnus*, 3 times; *baptista*, *monasterium*, *sophia*, each, twice; *diadema*, *chriographus* (*cyrographus*), *gyrus*, *holocaustum*, *presbyter*, *protoplastus*, each, once. The fact that these Greek words occur does not necessarily imply that Krotsvit knew the language as some writers infer, for all the words noted were current in Late and Ecclesiastical writers, and it is quite probable that Krotsvit found them there.

Diminutives: Diminutives, which belong largely to the domain of popular speech, occupy a prominent place in the poems. They are employed generally as necessary to the metrical scheme, seldom with the real diminutive force of tenderness or diminution. Those noted in the order of their frequency are: *gratiola*, 7 times; *castellum* and *candidolus* each, 3 times; *libellus*, *locellus*, and *novellus* each, twice; *barbula*, *carminulus*, *diecula*, *gemma*, *morula*, *munusculum*, *nigellus*, *obsequela*, *opusculus*, *parvulus*, *plebecula*, *precula*, *praepaucula*, *primule*, *querela*, *tempusculum*, *tenella*, *verbula*, *virguncula*, each, once.

Adjectives in "osus": These adjectives are treated in a special note in the Commentary, *Gest.* 186; and *famosus*, because of its use, is mentioned in a separate note, *Gest. Prolog.* 2.20. However, for convenience, they have been assembled here in the order of their frequency: *famosus* occurs 10 times; *studiosus*, 9 times; *generosus*, *pretiosus*, *scelerosus* each, 3 times, *innumerosus* and *tenebrosus* each, once.

A favorite expression of the poet is *summo conamine* used interchangeably with *toto conamine*. *Conamen* is a poetical word cited for Lucr., Stat., Ov., et al. It occurs 8 times in the Epics.

Another common expression noted is *Christo praestante* interspersed with *Christo favente*.

Hrotsvit exhibits a fondness for certain stereotyped transitional phrases, the most common of which are:

Istis sic habitis, Gest. 125, 395, 637;
His ita digestis, Gest. 160, 316;
His ita finitis, Gest. 1511;
His bene dispositis, Gest. 1165;
His bene perfectis, Prim. 375;
His...compertis, Gest. 1142;
Quo...comperto, Gest. 189, 363, 615.

The Ablative of the Gerund: The usage of the ablative of the gerund, chiefly in a modal or circumstantial sense, as the equivalent of a present participle in the nominative, though it has its beginnings in Classical or even in Early Latin, is largely a Silver and Late Latin development; cf. L-Eof. p. 600; K-Steg. 2.1.752-753. Examples in the Epics are frequent, e.g.

<i>Gest. Pref.</i> 26.	nutando	<i>Gest.</i> 218.	parendo
26.	vacillando	284.	adducendo
27.	pausando	305.	demulcendo
<i>Gest.</i> 26.	desponendo	375.	faciendo
62.	refovendo		
116.	mittendo		
151.	spernendo		
184.	stringendo		
212.	faciendo		
<i>Prim.</i> 52.	refovendo	<i>Prim.</i> 409.	conversando
99.	concedendo	421.	mandando
114.	succedendo	422.	mulcendo
129.	perquirendo	486.	sectando
201.	demonstrando	487.	praemeditando
244.	famulando	532.	praeveniando
265.	gradiendo		
357.	fando		

Facere with infinitive: The infinitive, in the place of the Classical substantive clause with *ut* occurs in Enn., Plaut., Lucr., Cic., (once), Verg., Silver and Late authors; it is rare in Early Latin, more frequent in the poets, Silver and Late Latin; cf. L-Hof. p. 581; T.L.L. 6.115.37-. This use of *facere* in the sense of "cause to", "make to", is especially frequent in Ecclesiastical writers. Note the following examples:

<i>Gest.</i> 57. fecit religari	<i>Prim.</i> 79. conscendere fecit
301. impleri fecit	555-556. locari fecit
1497. fraudari fecit	
1505. fecit benedici	

Praesumere with complementary infinitive: The complementary infinitive with *praesumere* is not used in Classical prose; cf. L-Hof. p. 581; K-Steg. 2.1.667-676. Krotsvit employs it thus 7 times in the epics.

The Participle: *praedictam...domnam*, *Gest.* 109, is an instance of the perfect passive participle used to refer to a person or thing already mentioned or about to be mentioned, where Classical Latin would employ some such expression as, *quae dicitur*, *quam vocant*, *quam commemoravi*. Although found in Livy, 10.14.7, "ad praedictas latebras", this usage belongs chiefly to Silver and Late Latin; cf. K-Steg. 2.1.771. It occurs 11 times.

A few general remarks and observations concerning the Latinity of the poems as noted in the Commentary may be in place here.

Concerning the nominal syntax, little need be said apart from the minor shiftings of gender and irregularities of number; the loss of a few case constructions; the extension of others, notably the possessive genitive, the partitive genitive and its derivatives, the dative with verbs and adjectives, the free use of dative of reference or concern, the lack of distinction between literal and figurative ablative of separation, a generous use of the ablative absolute, freedom in the use of the direct object with the accusative. Other features worthy of note are: the extended substantival use of adjectives and participles; greater freedom of choice in the use of

demonstratives, additions to the functions of various prepositions, a more extended substantival use of the infinitive, and an increase in the number of individual verbs, notably *jacere* and *præsumere*, introducing infinitive constructions; the rare occurrence of the supine in *-u* and *-um*, and a frequent extension in the use of participles.

With regard to the verbal syntax, some intransitive verbs are used transitively; a few transitive verbs are used absolutely. A few deponents have a passive meaning. Tense shifting affects many tenses in independent clauses show a certain freedom from restriction in the choice both of moods and tenses. The Classical usages of mood and tense are not entirely lost, but non-Classical uses are added and sometimes appear side by side with the Classical.

In the syntax, whether nominal or verbal, and in the vocabulary, for almost all instances of major importance which deviate from the Classical norm a precedent can be found for the usage in the writings of the Silver Age or in the Late Latin writers, pagan and Christian. The vocabulary, however, inevitably reflects a blending of the Classical, the colloquial, the poetical, the rhetorical, and the Scriptural elements plus a contribution of the author herself. The syntax, too, could hardly refrain from the popular element entirely, but in the main points it is quite traditional.

For the most part, whatever innovations were noted were such as merely indicated a normal and logical development along the lines marked by the trend of the period.

RHETORICAL FIGURES

The figures of rhetoric contribute greatly to elevation of style when used moderately and appropriately. It is only in their abuse that they become a fault. Keeping this fact in mind, let us summarize Hrotsvit's use of the various figures noted in the Epics.

On the basis of some common characteristic the figures may be grouped into the following classes:

Figures of Imagery
Figures of Amplification
Figures of Repetition
Figures of Sound
Figures of Vivacity
Minor Figures of Rhetoric
Devices of Parallelism

This classification, while it includes most of the common figures, is by no means complete or all-embracing. It does, however, include the principal figures found in the poems.

Figures of Imagery

The figures of imagery are those devices which illumine a point or thought by means of pictorial suggestions.

1. Comparison

Comparison or simile is a figure of imagery by which a person or thing is compared to another person or thing. The comparison is expressed and introduced by some suitable word, such as *velut*, *tamquam*, *quasi*, *quomodo...ita*, *ut...sic*, *sicut...ita*. Quintilian's⁵³ chief rule for the use of this figure is that the object of comparison must be neither obscure nor unfamiliar, but more clearly known and understood than the point or object to be illustrated.

The following are a few representative examples of comparison noted in the Epics:

Gest. Pref. 15-24. sed veluti si aliquis nescius
ignoti per latitudinem saltus esset iturus...
haut aliter ego...iussa ingredi

Gest. 33-34. ...fulsit ceu lucifer ortus addo...

Gest. 52. Henricus...ceus murus iaculis obstans fortissimus hostis

2. Metaphor

Metaphor, according to Quintilian⁵⁴, is a shorter form of comparison, with this important difference, that one

⁵³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 8.3.72-73.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 8.6.8-9.

object is imaginatively identified with another. Metaphor is an implied comparison, --a compressed simile.

The following are examples of metaphor found in the Epics:

Gest. Prol.3.1. Oddo..praefulgens gemmula

Prol.3.2. (Oddo)...flos...splendens

Gest. 60. posset constare...miles stelligera semper
regnantis in aula

*Gest.*580. Non tamen invenit, Christi quam gratia texit

3. Metonymy

Metonymy is the use of one word for another suggested by it. The following instances are typical examples of those noted in the Epics:

Gest. 496. ...dextra tollebat avara

613. Exortans patris imperio populum dare colla

623. Alpius accinctas altis intraverat horas

Prim. 349. Iurat...per candidulum quoque collum

None of the above figures of imagery is excessive, and in most cases their use is effective. Of the three types listed, namely, comparison, metaphor, and metonymy, the metaphor occurs most frequently, 15 examples having been noted.

Figures of Amplification

The characteristic feature of redundancy or amplification is the use of more words than are necessary for the complete logical expression of a thought. It may be accidental or deliberate; if accidental the result is faulty diction, such as diffuseness or tautology; if deliberate, the resulting elaboration is recognized as a legitimate figure of rhetoric.

Except for the figure called *Arsis-Thesis*, examples of redundancy are infrequent in the Epics:

1. Periphrasis

Periphrasis, a deliberate diffuseness, is a parade of words which elaborates in no wise the original thought.

The following examples may be grouped under this heading:

- Gest. 5. A saxo per duritiam mentis bene firmam
298. Illius fuis vultum lacrimis madefactum
310. Sed clam subtristem servans in corde dolorem

2. Pleonasm

A typical example of Pleonasm, or the use of more words than are necessary to express an idea, has been noted:

- Gest. 1183. Omneque maeroris pondus cunctique doloris

3. Arsis-Thesis

Periphrasis and pleonasm secure emphasis and definiteness by the repetition of the same idea. Arsis-thesis, on the other hand, contrasts ideas by a scheme of negation and affirmation, or vice-versa--a form less common. No instances of the latter have been noted in the poems. The following, however, are typical of the former, 12 instances of which have been noted.

- Gest. 299- Haut aptum tanto luctum dixere triumpho,
300. Sed reddi grates regi debere perenni,
Gest. 461- Illam nec habitare locis voluit segregatis
463. Sed ceu reginam regnum transire per amplum
Gest. 494- Nec solum celsae solium sibi proripit aulae,
495. Sed simul, aerarii claustris eius reseratis
Prim. 519- Nec vice terribilis metui petiit senioris,
520. Sed bene mansueti genitoris ad instar amari:
Prim. 553- Ocius in tumulto non absque dolore parato,
554. Sed luctu nimio circumstantum madefacto,

Figures of Repetition

The figures of repetition differ from those in the preceding group in that the repetition is of words that have already been used. Quintilian⁵⁵ includes them in the classification of the *figurae verborum per adiectionem*. The relative position of the repeated elements affords a convenient means for classification.

⁵⁵ Quintilian, 9.3.

1. Anadiplosis

Anadiplosis is a figure which involves the repetition of a word either immediately or after an interval. Quintilian⁵⁶ considers the latter form more effective. The repetition must be intentional. Just one instance has been noted:

Gest. 361. Sic sic maerentis toto conamine cordis

2. Epanaphora

Epanaphora differs from anadiplosis in that it requires the doubling of a word at the beginning of two or more phrases, clauses, or sentences. Hrotsvit shows a fondness for this figure. The following are typical of the examples found in the poems, 10 instances of which occur:

Gest. 334- Quidam iudicio quidni dantur capitali, (Iso-
335. Quidam de patria longe pelluntur amanda colon)

Gest. 1179. In quis castellis,
In quis voluitque locellis

Prim. 421- Nunc dominatricis mando iure potentis, (Iso-
422. Nunc etiam matiis mulcendomore suavis, colon)

Prim. 497- Nunc pie subiectas monitis mulceret amicis,
498. Nunc etiam verbis iuste terreret acerbis,

It may be noted that in several of the above examples there is a combination of epanaphora with isocolon, or parison, or balance. The metrical scheme may have necessitated this arrangement.

Figures of Sound

Figures of sound are rhetorical devices in which the phonetic element plays an important rôle. According to Quintilian⁵⁷, they aim to attract the ear of the audience and to excite attention through verbal resemblance, quality, or contrast. Because of the inflections in Latin it is difficult at times to distinguish deliberate examples from accidental ones.

⁵⁶ Quintilian, 9.3.28-29.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 9.3.66.

1. Paranomasia

Paranomasia consists in the occurrence of words of the same root which are similar in sound, but dissimilar in sense. Its use is infrequent in the poems:

- Gest. 479. Ut posset *regnum* digne *rex*isse *relictum*
507. Qui, *iussis* *captus* *regis* non *iusta iubentis*,
509. *Clausam* *carcerei claustris* *servare cubilis*,
570. Si forsan *latebris* *regina lateret* in *ullis*.

2. Polytoton

Polytoton is a sound effect produced by the repetition of the same word in different cases. The position of the repeated word is unimportant. The following are representative examples of those noted:

- Gest. *Prol.* 2.5. *Vilem* ne *spernas vilis* *textum monialis*
Gest. 1. Postquam *rex regum*, qui solus *regnat*
in *aevum*,
9- *Hic pollens quantae* fuerat *bonitatis*
honore,
10. Et *quanta* *populos* *rexit pietate* *subactos*
212. Et quod plus *iusto* non *iustam* *vim*
faciendo
505. *Sola* cum *sola* *committens* namque *puella*
1145. In *saeculum saeculi* *maneant laus*
omnipotenti

3. Cacaphony

The figure of cacaphony consists in a conscious juxtaposition of two words in which the last syllable of word immediately preceding is identical with the first syllable of the word immediately succeeding. It may be noted in the examples following, that the quantity of the vowel involved is often disregarded. Its occurrence has been counted 14 times.

- Gest. 700. *Gratis* ut *Ottoni* *venit* se *subdere regi*
724. In *meliusque* *statum* *studuit convertere rerum*
Prim. 148. *Scilicet et* *regis* *compulsus* *amore* *perennis*,
225. *Omnes esse* *locum* *firmabant* *sanctificandum*
385. *Optantes diei* *praesentes esse* *celebri*
402. *Carmina divinae* *laudis* *clare* *resonare*
494. Ut, *sese* *semper* *circumspiciens* *sapienter*,
498. Nunc *etiam* *verbis* *iuste* *terreret* *acerbis*,
561. *Scilicet ante* *dies octo* *totidem* *quoque* *noctes*

4. Alliteration and Assonance

Alliteration is the repetition of the same letter in words either immediately successive or at close intervals. It is most frequently, though not necessarily, the repetition of the initial letter of two or more successive words. Since in the Epics it is often linked with assonance, a figure which consists of the intentional repetition of the same letter or letters at the end of succeeding words, the two figures are grouped under one heading. Over 300 examples have been counted in the poems.

Alliteration alone:

- Gest.* 85. Nobilitate potens, primis meritis quoque
pollens,
388. Eiusdem populi patriam petiit scelerosi,
509. Clausam carceris claustris servare cubilis,
539. Sub terra foveam facerent fodiendo secretam
607. Ipsius Italicum iuri subiungere regnum
623. Alpibus accinctas altis intraverat horas
Prim. 495. Commissum caute sibimet servaret ovile
532. Praeveniendo prior, vetiti pro crimine pomi
588. Quas matri cunctas in caelo consociatas

Alliteration and Assonance:

- Gest.* 170. Laeserat et plebem bellum civile fidelem
284. Adducendo quidem multam secum legionem
463. Sed ceu reginam regnum transire per amplum
Prim. 152. Praesul Anastasius sedis sanctissimum huius
164. Qui post pastorem Petrum Paulumque magistrum
420. Sic haec sancta suas caras instruxit alumnas,

Figures of Vivacity

The figures of vivacity are devices which give life, movement, and force to composition. All the figures are employed to vitalize the words. In the Epics none of these are excessive.

1. Asyndeton

Asyndeton consists of the omission of connecting particles between co-ordinate groups. Asyndeton, termed *dissolutio* by Quintilian⁵⁸, tends to speed up or enliven the force of thought of a discourse. The following are the only examples noted:

⁵⁸ Quintilian, 9.3.50.

Gest. 431. Mansuetus, clemens, humilis nimiumque fidelis
439. Quem pater egregius, rex et senior venerandus
446. Gratiola perili coluit, provexit, amavit
Prim. 24. Atque bonae famae generosae scilicet Aedae

2. Rhetorical Question

This figure occurs when a question is asked for effect and not for an answer. Its purpose is to excite interest and to stimulate curiosity. Only one instance has been found in the poems:

Gest. 273. Hi quid fecerunt, damnum qui tale tulerunt?

3. Exclamatio

Exclamatio is the expression of strong emotion to excite that emotion in others. The device resembles the rhetorical question in form and effect. Just two definite examples have been noted:

Gest. 163-167. O quam tranquillum...aevum...si non antiqui...calliditas inimici turbaret
nostrum...serenum!

271-273. En, qui peccavi...ego vindictae dignus
sum...tantae!

4. Apostrophe

Apostrophe is a figure of speech which consists of an interruption in the flow of discourse in order to address one absent as though present. If a prayer may be considered an apostrophe, the following instance in which Hrotsvit represents Otto as addressing himself to Christ, is an example:

Gest. 274-275. Jam nunc, Christe, tuis parcens miserere
redemptis, Ne premat insontes iusto
plus vis inimica!

5. Litotes

Litotes is the making of an affirmation by the denial of its opposite. It lends rhetorical force and variety to discourse. The following are representative examples of its use in the poems--about 30 occurrences were noted:

Gest. 172. Huius causa mali fuerat non parva dolendi,
577. In quo non parvo iacuit terrore gravata

Prim. 120. Eius permissu cum non modico comitatu
227. At dux, caelesti non ingratus

Minor Figures of Rhetoric

These figures, though natural in themselves (indeed many of them appear in Greek literature as early as Homer), through development by the disciples of the Second Sophistic, became highly artificial. Of these figures the hyperbaton is by far the most numerous. To a very great extent this may be due to the "leonine rime" of the Epics.

1. Hyperbaton

Hyperbaton, or as Quintilian⁵⁹ terms it, *verbi transgressio*, is a device in which the natural order of words is broken; this is done for emphasis or for the sake of rhythm, and is found in both poetry and prose. Over 900 instances have been counted in the poems. For convenience these have been grouped under four divisions and a few typical examples of each group cited:

1. Separation of a noun and its modifier. These occur most frequently, especially in instances having the verb separating them.

- Gest. 71. *Oddoni dignam iam disponaret amicam*
94. *Germen sanctorum quam producebat avorum*
102. *Moxque suae dulci narrabat voce sorori*
105. *Cumque suae monitis menti instillaret amicis*
677. *Obsequiis operam gessit regalibus aptam*
Prim. 34. *Haec prostrata sacram solito iacuit secus aram*
60. *Dum sua religio studio steterit bene firmo*
81. *Haec igitur modici demonstrat pagina libri*
82. *Plenius, e causis rerum quem scripsimus harum*
97. *Finetenus castae possent habitare puellae*

Note. Another common instance of this separation is that between a noun and its participial or gerundive modifier:

- Gest. 218. *...votis sed plus parendo nefandis*
278. *Et dedit optatum miserans ex hoste triumphum*
329. *Se dedit electum patri moriens holocaustum*
479. *Ut posset regnum digne rexisse relictum*
616. *Corde super natum laeto plaudebat amandum*

59 Quintilian, 8.6.62.

2. Separation of a preposition and its object:

- Gest.* 187. *Ad sua mox prolem secum deducit herilem*
244. *Inter coenobii...secreta quieti*
571. *Ipseque cum fortis sequitur turba legionis*
584. *Intra namque suae muros urbis bene firmos*
1169. *Quo post exilii pondus nimium grave duri*

3. Separation of an adverb and the word it modifies:

- Gest.* 213. *Illum mox proprio deprivarent male regno*
255. *Protexit de millenis persaepe periclis*
330. *Sed mox consilium cunctis nudavit eorum*
Prim. 262. *Quae mox expansis volitans praecesserat alis,*

4. Separation of a participle and its auxiliary verb, especially in compound tenses; it is usually found in conjunction with other hyperbata:

- Gest.* 257. *Esset ab adversis circumdatus undique turmis*
601. *Quae fuit insidiis regis circumdata tantis*
681. *Est quoque reginae fraterno iunctus amore*
Prim. 286. *Quam perfecta domus domini foret inclita*
prorsus;

2. Antonomasia

Antonomasia is a figure in which objects are referred to by mention of their distinguishing qualities or by the substitution of an epithet as equivalent to the name which it replaces. To avoid the constant repetition of the name Otto, Krotsvit refers to him as:

- Gest.* 36. *rectorem plebi*
70. *suo primogenito regique futuro*
104. *propriae proli*
106. *pueri regalis*
115. *nato amando*
120. *regali nato*
129. *primogenitus venerandus*
152. *rex*
215. *regis fidelis*
240. *regem benedictum*
353. *rex pius*
439. *pater egregius, rex et senior venerandus*
628. *rex famosus*

She speaks of God as:

Gest. Prol. 2.3. rex altithronus

- 1. rex regum
- 17. rex pacificus
- 25. Trina deitas
- 35. regis perennis--*passim* in both poems
- 149. caelestis regis
- 228. rex de caelis, iudex aequissimus orbis
- 328. Agnus Paschalis
- 366. rege suo tenera de virgine nato
- 1145. omnipotenti

Henry, the brother of Otto, is called:

Gest. 49. ducem fortem

- 153. frater venerandus
- 154. princeps
- 183. fratrem generosum
- 191. germani cari
- 196. fratrem
- 375. ducem potentem
- 382. ducis tanti

Other less important characters are variously referred to, but the above citations will suffice to illustrate Hrotsvit's use of antonomasia.

3. Hyperbole

Hyperbole is an intentionally exaggerated statement. It is ineffect a magnified comparison. The one instance noted in Hrotsvit's *Epics* bespeaks a negligible use of the device.

Gest. 255. Protexit de millenis persaepe periclis

Of the other figures, hendiadys, oxymoron, paradox, and antimetithesis, no definite examples have been noted.

Devices of Parallelism

Devices of parallelism, usually in combination with other figures, are quite numerous in the *Epics* of Hrotsvit. It is the skill of the poet in interweaving them with various figures that avoids both monotonous symmetry and excessive variety.

1. Isocolon

Isocolon consists in the approximate syllabic equality of succeeding cola. Since these might be accidental, especially in poetry, only those instances have been enumerated whose syllabic equality is combined with balanced structure.

- Gest.* 200. Suspendens quosdam ligno reprobis reparato
201. Quosdam de patria mandans discedere cara
- Gest.* 293. Haut gaudens inimicorum de morte suorum,
294. Sed plus tantorum maerens de caede virorum,
- Gest.* 421. Nunc dominatricis mandando iure potentis,
422. Nunc etiam matris mulcendo more suavis,
- Gest.* 494. Nec solum celsae solium sibi proripit aulae,
495. Sed simul, aerarii claustris eius reseratis

2. Parison

Parison is a figure of isocolon with parallelism of structure. Succeeding cola have approximately equality in structure and length. It, too, is found in combination with other figures.

- Gest.* Pref. 23. vel alio superveniente induceretur
24. vel praecedentis vestigia subsequeretur
- Gest.* 609. Patris amor verus
spes et gentis
- Gest.* 648. Hic modo sublimem gaudens captaret honorem,
649. Quo prius ingentem fuerat perpressa dolorem
- Prim.* 418. Nunc terrore suas prohibet delinquere natas,
419. Nunc etiam monitis bona velle suadet amicis,

3. Chiasmus

Chiasmus is a crosswise arrangement of contrasted pairs of words. As noted above it is often found combined with isocolon and parison, and most of the instances counted are used in this manner. The following, however, is not:

Prim. 11. Prudens in verbis,
in cunctis cautus agendis,

4. Homoioteleuton

Homoioteleuton is end rhyme of successive phrases or clauses. Because Latin is a highly inflected language, this figure may be accidental; if, however, as shown above, it is used with other combinations it may be intentional. Because of the type of verse structure of the poems, it is exceedingly numerous occurring in almost every line. A few representative examples only are cited:

- Gest.* 14. Nam fuit inmitis reprobis, blandus quoque iustis
625. Non bellum movit, regi non obviis exit
695. Quem pius elegit, regem cum pace reduxit
Prim. 10. Namque fuit strenuus, forma nimiumque decorus
49. Quem matrona videns nec mortalem fore credens
145. Quod votis gerimus, factis bene perficiamus

5. Antithesis

Antithesis is the artistic contrast of opposite or contrary terms. When used in sentences of balanced structure and approximate length, it is called antithetical parison. The following, listed also under parison, is the only definite example noted:

- Gest.* 648- Hic modo sublimen gaudens captaret honorem,
649. Quo prius ingentem fuerat perpressa dolorem.

The evidence of rhetorical ornamentation presented in the preceding sections is sufficient to show that, in general, Hrotsvit manifests moderation and restraint in the use of rhetorical figures. Hyperbaton and alliteration are employed generously, but, since the poet chose to adopt "leonine rime", one could hardly say superfluously. Her motive is never display. The simplicity and charm manifested in her Epics elevate them to a high level. Though her syntax is somewhat decadent, if contrasted with that of writers from the second to the sixth century--which would be grossly unjust--and she manifests a tendency to make every sentence analytical, yet her use of words, for the most part, is Classical, and in this respect her Latin is unsurpassed by the scholastic Latin

of the Middle Ages⁶⁰. Many echoes of pagan writers, as noted frequently in the Commentary by parallel passages, present clear evidence of her Classical background. Assuredly Hrotsvit deserves an immortal place among the writers of the Middle Ages, even Taylor⁶¹ grudgingly remarking, "...the tiresome, but unquestionably immortal nun of Gandersheim...".

G. METRICAL STUDY

This metrical study makes no pretense of being an exhaustive one. That would be impossible in a monograph of this type, if it is to be kept within a reasonable size. An exhaustive handling of this phase alone in Hrotsvit's work would assume the proportion of a large monograph. This study does, however, aim to include sufficient data to afford a general concept of Hrotsvit's hexameters.

An examination of her technique has revealed some interesting features:

1. Synizesis

Synizesis, or the slurring of two vowels, is comparatively rare and restricted to a few proper nouns. When it is employed in any except the fifth foot of the verse the two vowels are regularly treated separately. The following are typical of the examples noted:

- Gest.* 122. Nomine *Liudulfum* tantis genitoribus aptum
421. Nomine *Liudgardam*, summa bonitate coruscam
Prim. 132. Exorans dux *Liudulfus* cum coniuge pronus
448. *Liudgardis* pie reginae bonitate precante

Non-Synizesis involving one of the above nouns:

- Gest.* 427. Erga regalem puerum domnum *Liudulfum*
450. Utque suo subdi nato faceret *Liudulfo*
735. Denique famosi natus regis *Liudulfus*

2. Diastole

Diastole, or the lengthening of short syllables, is occasionally employed by the poet through metrical necessity. Its use, however, is not excessive.

60 Christopher St. John, p. xv.

61 Taylor, vol. 2, p. 244 note.

- Gest. 34. *Ludendo seriem nunc lectitare recentem*
 44. *Edomat et gentes, Christo favente, feroces*
 295. *Sumpsit non modicum, Davidis more, lamentum*
 358. *Nec horret hiemis saevum frigus furientis*
 717. *Se regnum pretio contestans emere magno*

3. Systole

Systole, or the shortening of long syllables, is more common than diastole. In some words certain syllables are regularly shortened; in others, syllables are shortened only to accommodate the metre. *Ecclesia*, which occurs about 16 times, always shortens the second syllable, but this practice is also found in *Sedulius* and several others. In *monasterium* the antipenult is regularly shortened. Other examples noted are:

- Gest. 214. *Hoc quoque consilium perversa mente repertum*
 557. *Tunc iterato viam studuit percurrere coeptam*
 700. *Gratis ut Ottoni venit se subdere regi.*
 1494. *Qualiter et recti compunctus acumine zeli*
Prim. 121. *Romam pergebant sanctique patris visitabant*
 211. *Fit notum, fama cunctis prodente iocunda*
 333. *Inpatiensque morae domnam precibus placat Odam*
 353. *Utque fiat de me iuxta domini rogo velle*
 404. *Illic permansit domino iugiter famulando*

Still other words that may be added to this list are: *pie*, *suadelis*, *lamentus*, *detrimeto*. The following, however, may be considered a doubtful instance of *pie*:

- Prim.* 448. *Liudgardis pie reginae bonitate precante*

Suadelis is variously employed:

- Gest. 644. *Hoc quoque suadelis exhortabatur amicis (long)*
 744. *Deceptusque malis permultorum suadelis (short)*

4. Varying Quantities

Varying quantity, before a mute and liquid in the same word, is common:

tenebrae:

Gest. 350. Et, sub nocturnis nimium secreto tenebris
(long)

Prim. 195. Sub noctis claras tenebris ardere lucernas
(short)

sacro:

Prim. 149. Praesta sanctorum nobis sacra pignora, quorum
(short)

151. Apte signari sacris meritisque tueri (long)

secretus:

Gest. 552. Abscondens in secretis se cautius antris (long)

Prim. 40. Quis foret ille, suum qui conturbare secretum
(short)

The above merely illustrate Hrotsvit's usage; other examples could be added. In *muliebris* the penult is regularly lengthened to fit the metrical scheme.

5. Ultima of Gerunds

The ultima, or final syllable of gerunds which are employed frequently for present participles (cf. Intro. p. 16) may be long or short.

Prim. 421. Nunc dominatricis mandando iure potentis
(long)

513. Ut vel eas damno laedendo tangeret ullo

Prim. 265. Cum sociis gradiendo sequi virguncula
Christi (short)

532. Praeveniendo prior, vetiti pro crimine pomi
(short)

6. Syllables preceding "h"

Syllables preceding "h" are regularly short; only one exception has been noted:

Gest. 358. Nec horret hiemis saevus frigus furientis

7. Notable Features

Notable features employed for metrical necessity:

- a. Use of syncopated words--about 16 instances have been counted.

Gest. 199. Auctores tanti condempnavitque *piaceli*
205. Cunctis horrendum *saeclis* meritoque
stupendum

- b. Use of diminutives -cf. Introduction page 15.

Gest. 372. Necnon post aliquot spatii *tempuscula* parvi
395. Istis sic habitis, properata *diecula*
tristis
Prim. 188. Necnon is silva fuerat sita *parvula* villa

8. Fondness Manifested

Fondness manifested for:

- a. Terminating a verse with *honor*:

Gest. 368. Pro diei tante pacem portantis *honore*
585. Hicque sibi digne toto servivit *honore*
Prim. 440. Necnon regalis decus accedebat *honoris*

- b. Using a combination with *que* to terminate the first or the fifth foot or both:--over 100 instances have been noted:

Prim. 501. *Ipsaque* domina sui studio laudabilis Oda
Gest. 257. Esset ab adversis circumdatus *undique*
turmis
Prim. 219. *Undique* silvestris per gyrum *denique*
vallis

- c. Ending the foot with the word --examples are very numerous.

Gest. 203. Protulit antiqui rursum mala fraus inimici
Prim. 564. Nascitur Henrico famosus filius Oddo

9. Elision

The use of elision is very rare. A few occurrences of elision before "m" have been found, but only one instance to two vowels, one terminating the other beginning a word, has been noted.

Gest. 105. Cumque suae monitis menti instillaret
amicis

10. Marked Features

Other marked features noted are:

- a. Verses with only one dactylic foot--more than 250 counted.

Gest. 348. Tandem percerte forti devictus amore,
Prim. 500. Torpens affectus cordis permetteret eius

- b. Verses with all except the last foot dactylic--about 20 instances noted.

Prim. 530. Qui pius urbicolis tribuit bona talia
nostris

- c. Absence of spondee in the fifth foot.

- d. An excessive use of a dactyl in the fourth foot and a spondee in the third foot--over 300 instances counted.

Prim. 480. Postquam bis denos binos quoque praefuit
annos

11. The Use of Caesura

Both the frequency and the occurrence of caesura are quite irregular. The following examples are representative of Hrotsvit's usage:

Gest. 34. Odo, micans radiis nimium clarae bonitatis;
155. Post regem, plebi merito venerabilis omni.
189. Quo rex comperto, maerens sub corde secreto

Gest. 295. Sumpsit non modicum, Davidis more,
lamentum,
426. Sed magis, ac iuste, dulci fervebat amore

- Gest.* 271. 'En, qui peccavi, dixit, facinusque peregi;
Prim. 208. Ipso quippe loco, sed prisca, quo prius, hora
 248. Nec mora, caelestem, quam quaerebat, pietatem

12. Rhyme

Since no definite scheme could be established, whatever rhyme occurs at the end of verses must be purely accidental. Internal rhyme is general, but the following peculiarities were noted:

- a. *ae* rhyming with *e* or vice-versa -- about 40 times

Gest. 365. In quo caelicolae pacem mundo cecinere,
 403. Quam plus maternae fovit pietatis amore,

- b. *o* rhyming with *a* or vice-versa -- This feature may be explained, perhaps, on the basis of analogy, since in the Middle German of that vicinity and approximately that period poetical works are extant containing instances of *o* rhyming with *a*. Cf. the following example mentioned by Tillman⁶² in his dissertation:

Nu sag mir geist vff dinen won
 Wie hoch mag es byß an den hymmel sin ge tan

Both Paul⁶³ and Weinhold⁶⁴ discuss this characteristic. About 45 examples were noted in the epics. The following are typical instances:

Gest. 599. Pectore volvebat tacito per tempora longa,
 631. Qua certe capta, cuncti velut agmine facto

- c. A doubtful example of *-as* rhyming with *-es*: cf. note in Commentary, *Prim.* 53.

Prim. 53. Inquit: 'Ne trepides nec perturbata pavescas

- d. Verses for which no rhyme could be established--the following were noted:

⁶² Tillman, p. 47

⁶³ Paul, p. 112.

⁶⁴ Weinhold, p. 85, sect. 90.

Gest. 279. Iusto praedictos comites examine perdens.

316. His ita digestis, modicum tempus requievit

Prim. 177. Necnon accenso praeclaro lumine semper;

Polheim⁶⁵ in a table of frequencies enumerates the various vowel combinations which occur in the rhymes of each poem and each work of Hrotsvit.

From the preceding brief survey it is easily discernible that Hrotsvit, as might be expected of a writer in the tenth century, indulges in greater metrical license than one would expect of a writer or poet of Classical times. Cardinal Gasquet⁶⁶ believes, however, that the poet showed much skill in the handling of the "leonine hexameter".

65 Polheim, p. 6.

66 Christopher St. John, in *Intro.* p. xi.

TEXT
and
TRANSLATION

LIBER TERTIUS

GESTA OTTONIS

Gerbergae, illustri abbatissae, cui pro sui eminentia probitatis haut minor obsequela venerationis, quam pro insigni regalis stemmate generositatis, Hrotsvit Candeshemens: ultima ultimarum sub huiusmodi personae dominio militantium,
5 quod famula herae.

O mea donna, quae rutilanti spiritalis varietate sapientiae praelucetis, non pigescat vestri almitiem per-
lustrare, quod vestra confectum si ignoratis ex iussione.

Id quidem oneris mihi inposuistis, ut gesta caesaris
10 augusti, quae nec auditu unquam affatim valui colligere, metrica percurrerem ratione. In huius sudore progressionis quantum meae inscitiae obstiterit difficultatis, ipsa con-
icere potestis, quia haec eadem nec prius scripta repperi, nec ab aliquo digestim sufficienterque dicta elicere quivi,
15 sed veluti si aliquis nescius ignoti per latitudinem saltus esset iturus, ubi omnis semita nivali densitate velaretur obducta, hicque nullo duce, sed solo prae-
monstrantium nutu inductus, nunc per devia erraret, nunc recti tramitem callis inprovisae incurreret, donec tandem
20 emensa arboreae medietate spissitudinis locum optatae comprehenderet quietis, illicque gradum figens ulterius progredi non praesumeret, usquedum vel alio superveniente induceretur vel praecedentis vestigia subsequeretur: haut aliter ego, magnificarum prolixitatem
25 rerum iussa ingredi, regalium multipliciter gestorum nutando et vacillando aegerrime transcurri, hisque admodum lassata competentem in loco pausando silesco nec augustalis proceritatem excellentiae sine ducatu ap-
pono subire. Si enim facundissimis disertissimorum
30 sententiis, quas vel modo scriptas vel ocus de his rebus non dubito fore scribendas, fuerim animata, fortasse

BOOK THREE

ACHIEVEMENTS OF OTTO

To Gerberga, renowned Abbess, esteemed no less for her integrity than for her illustrious descent from a royal race, I, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, the lowest of the lowly of those serving under the sway of her ladyship, wish to offer all that a servant owes to her mistress.

O my mistress, thou who enlightenest by the radiant diversity of thy spiritual wisdom, may it not irk thy kindness to examine carefully what thou knowest has been written at thy bidding!

Thou hast indeed imposed upon me the difficult task of narrating in verse the achievements of an august emperor, which thou art well aware was impossible to gather abundantly from hearsay. Thou canst surmise what great difficulties my ignorance puts in my way while engaged in this work. There were things of which I could find no written record, nor could I elicit information from anyone sufficiently reliable. I was like a stranger wandering without a guide through the depth of an unknown forest where every path was covered over and mantled with heavy snow. In vain he tries to follow the directions of those who are showing the way only by a nod. Now he wanders through pathless ways, now by chance he comes upon the trail of the right path, until at length, when he has traversed half of the thick-treed domain, he attains the place of long sought rest. There staying his step, he dares not proceed farther, until either he is led on by someone overtaking him or follows the footsteps of one who has preceded him. In like manner, I, bidden to undertake a complete chronicle of illustrious achievements, have gone on my way stumbling and hesitating, so great was the difficulty of finding a path in the forest of these royal deeds.

And so, wearied by my endeavor, I have lapsed into silence as I pause in a convenient resting-place. Without guidance I propose to go no further. If, however, I be encouraged by the eloquent treatises of the learned (either already written or in the near future to be

nanciscerer, unde mei rusticitas velaretur aliquantisper.

Nunc autem omne latus tanto magis caret defensione,
quanto minus ulla fulcitur auctoritate; unde etiam
35 vereor me temeritatis argui tendiculasque multorum non
devitare convicii, eo quod pomposis facetae urbanitatis
exponenda eloquentiis praesumpserim dehonestare inculti
vilitate sermonis. Si tamen sanae mentis examen accesserit
quae res recte pensare non nescit, quanto sexus fragilior
40 scientiaque minor, tanto venia erit facilior; praesertim
cum si meae praesumptionis, sed vestrum causa iussio-
nis huius stamen opusculi coeperim ordiri.

Cur tamen aliorum iudicia formido, quae vestri
solummodo censurae, si quid fefelli, obnoxia existo?
45 vel cur nequeam devitare convicia, quae solummodo silentio
studere debeo, ne, si seriem pro sui vilitate nulli
ostendendam velim propalari, merito omnium succumbam
reprehensioni? Vestro autem vestrique familiarissimi,
cui hanc rusticitatem sanxistis praesentatum iri,
50 scilicet archipraesulis Wilhelmi, iudicio, quoquo-
modo factum sit, aestimandum relinquo.

-o-

Pollens imperii regnator caesariani,
Odo, qui regis pietate favente perennis
In sceptris augustalis praeclarus honoris
Augustos omnes superas pietate priores,
5 Quem plures gentes passim metuunt habitantes,
Muneribus variis Romanus donat et orbis!
Exiguum munus ne spernas carminis huius,
Iste sed oblatus laudum placeat tibi census,
Quem postrema gregis solvit tibi Gandeshemensis,
10 Quem dulcis patrum collegit cura tuorum
Continuumque tibi debet studium famulandi.
Forsan gestorum plures scripsere tuorum
Et sunt scripturi post haec insignia multi:
Sed non exemplum quisquam mihi praebeuit horum,
15 Nec scribenda prius scripti docuere libelli;
Causa sed est operis tantum devotio mentis,

-40-

written) I might perhaps discover the means of veiling to some degree my homely simplicity.

Now, however, in proportion as I am unsupported by any authority, I am defenceless at every point. I fear, too, that I shall be accused of temerity and that I shall encounter the reproaches of many, because I have dared to disgrace by my uncultured style matters that should be set forth with the festal eloquence of choice expression. Yet, if a person of good judgment, who knows how to appraise things fairly, examines my work, he will pardon me the more readily because of the weakness of my sex and the inferiority of my knowledge, especially since I undertook this little work not of my own presumption, but at thy bidding.

Why, then, should I fear the criticism of others, since if I have erred somewhat, I become responsible only to your judgment? Or why can I not escape reproofs for those works about which I was anxious to be silent? If, because of its crudeness, I should wish the work to be shown to none, should I not deserve the blame of all? To your decision, however, and that of your most intimate friend, Archbishop William, to whom you have bidden me present this testimony of my simplicity, I submit the work to be appraised for its worth and its imperfections.

-o-

Otto, mighty sovereign of the empire of the Caesars, who, renowned because thou wieldest a sceptre of imperial majesty by the indulgent kindness of the Eternal King, surpasses in integrity all foregoing emperors, many nations dwelling far and wide reverence thee; the Roman Empire, too, bestows upon thee manifold honors! Do not reject the small offering of this poem, but may this proffered tribute of praises which the least of the flock of Gandersheim accords thee be pleasing. The kind solicitude of thy forbears has assembled it, and the constant desire of rendering service owes it to thee. Many, perchance, have written and many hereafter will produce masterful memorials of thy achievements. But none of these has provided a model for me, nor have monographs hitherto written taught me what I should set down. But devotedness of heart alone is the

- Haec et ad audendum suadebat opus metuendum.
Nam sat formido, quod gesta tui modulando
Incaute sim falsa sequens, non vera retexens:
20 Sed non hoc suasit mala mis praesumptio mentis,
Nec summa veri contempta sponte fefelli:
Sed res, ut scripsi, sese sic prorsus habere
Ipsi dicebant, mihi qui scribenda ferebant.
Hinc augustalis pietas non spernat honoris,
25 Quod supplex humilis gessit devotio mentis;
Et, cum te libri laudantes congrue multi
Post haec scribantur meritoque placere probentur:
Ordine postremus non sit tamen iste libellus,
Quem prius exemplo constat scriptum fore nullo;
30 Et, licet imperii teneas decus Octaviani,
Non dedigneris vocitari nomine regis,
Donec, perscripto vitae regalis honore,
Ordine digesto necnon sermone decoro
Dicatur sceptri decus imperiale secundi.

-0-

- Oddo, Romani praefulgens gemmula regni,
Oddonis flos augusti splendens venerandi,
Cui rex altithronus perpes quoque filius eius
Praestitit imperium pollens in vertice rerum:
5 Vilem ne spernas vilis textum monialis,
Quem praesentari, si digneris reminisci,
Ipse tui claris iussisti nuper ocellis;
Et cum perspicias maculis sordescere crebris,
Ad celerem tanto veniam mox pronior esto,
10 In monstrando tuis quantum plus pareo iussis:
Si tis praecepto non urgerer metuendo,
Non foret ullomodo mihimet fiducia tanta,
Ut tibi praesentis scrutandum rusticitatis
Auderem satis exiguum praeferre libellum;
15 Qui, praestante deo patri subiunctus in aula
Ipsius et monitis promptus parere paternis,
Par decus imperii retines concorditer ampli,
Conportans dextra sceptrum regale tenella.
Sed quia te memini sublimiter assimilari
20 Nato famosi regis David Salomoni,
Qui genitore suo praesente iubenteque sancto

reason for this undertaking, and this urged me to dare the formidable task. Yet I am fearful that by verse I may be heedlessly tracing spurious deeds of thine and not disclosing authentic ones. But no baneful presumption of mind has urged me in this matter, nor have I voluntarily played falsely by a disdain of the truth as a whole. But, that the account, as I have written it, is true, those who furnished the material for me themselves declared. Let not, therefore, the benignity of august majesty despise that which a lowly suppliant, devoted of heart, has achieved. And although hereafter many books may be written praising thee duly, and may be esteemed fittingly acceptable to thee, yet let this little book which has clearly been written from no earlier copy be not the last in order of regard. And although thou holdest the honor of Caesar's emperorship, disdain not to be called by the name of king, until, the fame of a royal life having been written, the imperial splendor of the second realm may be declared in an orderly fashion and in becoming language.

-o-

Otto, resplendent ornament of the Roman Empire, bright scion of the august and revered Otto, for whom the mighty King throned on high and His Eternal Son destined an empire strong in the zenith of its power: spurn not the poor composition of a poor nun! Thou, thyself, if thou deign to remember, hast lately ordered it to be presented to thy keen gaze; and when thou perceivest that it is marred with many blemishes, be then the more inclined to favor a speedy pardon, the more I am but obeying thy behest in presenting it to thee. If I were not urged by thy dread command, under no circumstance, should I have such self-assurance as to presume to offer to thy scrutiny this little book with its obvious lack of polish.

Thou, who by the decree of God art associated with thy father in his court and art ready to obey his paternal admonitions, holdest harmoniously a like distinction of imperial rule, bearing the kingly sceptre in thy youthful hands. But since I know that thou are loftily considered like to Solomon, son of the celebrated King David, who, in his father's presence and at his revered

- Optata regnum suscepit pace paternum,
Ipsius exemplo te contentum fore spero;
Qui cum regnando resideret in arce superba,
25 Prudenter legum condens decreta sacrarum
Ac penetrans animo rerum secreta profundo,
Nunc libet et minimis mentem laxare rimandis,
Sed nec conflictum fastidit rite duarum
Solvere iudicii celeri discrimine recti,
30 Prolem restitui verae mandans genitrici.
Hinc supplex te posco quidem, nostrum Salomonem,
Ut, licet imperii tenearis sollicitandi
Cura, digneris tamen et propriae monialis
Ludendo seriem nunc lectitare recentem,
35 Quo male compositis verbis mox decidat omnis
Rusticitas oris de tractibus imperialis
Nominis, et titulo signata tui venerando
Despectus nimia meriti tueantur ab aura.

-o-

- Postquam rex regum, qui solus regnat in aevum,
Per se cunctorum transmutans tempora regum,
Iussit Francorum transferri nobile regnum
Ad claram gentem Saxonum, nomen habentem
5 A saxo per duritiam mentis bene firmam,
Filius Oddonis magni ducis et venerandi,
Scilicet Henricus, suscepit regia primus
Iusto pro populo moderamine sceptrata gerenda.

- Hic pollens quantae fuerat bonitatis honore,
10 Et quanta populos rexit pietate subactos,
Qualiter et reges meritis tunc temporis omnes
Praeminet eximiis, excedit denique vilis
Huius carminuli textum nimium vitiosi.
Nam fuit inmitis reprobis, blandus quoque iustis,
15 Summo conservans studio legalia iura,
Aequa satis meritis reddens quoque praemia cunctis
Huic rex pacificus dederat de sidere Christus
Eius civilem vitae per tempora pacem;
Omne felici tenuit quoque culmina regni,
20 Ni fallor, denos labentis temporis annos
Necnon his ternos multum feliciter actos,
Conregnante sua Mathilda coniuge clara,
Cui nunc in regno non compensabitur ulla,
Quae posset meritis illam superare supremis.

command, received the paternal kingdom amid desired peace, I hope that in accord with his example thou wilt be content. Though Solomon, as king resided in a proud citadel, wisely establishing the decrees of sacred laws and penetrating with profound mind into the secrets of nature, yet occasionally he was disposed to relax his mind with trivial investigations. But he did not loathe duly to settle, with the determination of a just and speedy decision, the quarrel of the two women, ordering the child to be restored to its true mother.

Therefore, as a suppliant indeed, I request that thou, our Solomon, though the administration of a harassing empire occupy thee, deign to read now, for amusement, the recent account by thine own poor nun: that thus all crudeness of utterance, in this treatise on thy imperial name, may presently disappear from the badly arranged words, and that enhanced by thy revered title, they may be guarded from the breath of well-merited contempt.

-o-

After the King of kings, Who alone rules forever, by His own power changing the fortunes of all kings, decreed that the distinguished realm of the Franks be transferred to the famous race of the Saxons, a race which because of its steadfast rigor of spirit fittingly derived its name from rock, the son of the great and revered Duke Otto, namely Henry, was the first to receive the kingly authority to be administered with moderation in behalf of a righteous nation.

Just as he was pre-eminent for distinguished excellence, just as he ruled his subject nations with great kindliness, and just as he excelled all the rulers of his time through his extraordinary achievements, so does he in like degree exceed the power of expression of this homely little poem with its many defects. For he was inexorable to the wicked and gentle to the just, guarding legal rights with the utmost zeal and measuring out to all deserving followers just compensation. To him as long as he lived, Christ, the peace-loving King, granted from on high civil peace; and he very happily retained the supreme power of the domain, if I mistake not, for a decade and twice six years of blessed memory; with him ruled his illustrious wife, Matilda, who now in the realm none will be found to surpass in exalted holiness.

- 25 Trina quibus deitas dederat tres denique natos,
Iam tunc felici disponendo pie genti,
Ne post Henrici mortem, regis venerandi
Imperium regni male surriperent scelerosi,
Hi sed regalis nati de germine stirpis
30 Rexissent regnum concordī pace paternum;
Quamvis dissimiles his servarentur honores,
Binis regnanti subiectis scilicet uni.

- Inter quos primus fulsit ceu lucifer ortus
Odo, micans radiis nimium clarae bonitatis;
35 Gratia quem regis solita pietate perennis
Rectorem plebi praevidit rite fideli.
Hic aetate prior fuerat, meritis quoque maior,
Congruus et sceptris defuncto patre gerendis.
Non opus est verbis eius summam probitatis
40 Dicere vel pueri meritum laudabile tanti,
Cui Christus talem iam nunc augessit honorem,
Possidet ut Romam pollenti iure superbam,
Quae semper stabilis summum fuerat caput orbis,
Edomat et gentes, Christo favente, feroces,
45 Quae prius ecclesiam laniabant saepe sacratam.
Post hunc Henricus fuerat feliciter ortus
Inpositoque patris famosus nomine regis;
Provida quem domini pariter sapientia Christi
Dignatur servare ducem populo bene fortem,
50 Belliger ut fortis, belli doctissimus artis,
Fortiter ecclesiam praemuniret venerandam,
Ceu murus iaculis obstans fortissimus hostis.
• Post hunc ecclesiae pastor Brun nascitur almae,
Gratia pontificis quem duxit summa perennis
55 Dignum catholici curam gestare popelli;
Hinc quoque divino nutu patris pia cura
Ipsum servitio Christi fecit religari,
Abstractum gremio carae nutricis amando,
Ut regni pompis posset constare relictis
60 Miles stelligera semper regnantis in aula;
At Christus, patris sapientia vera perennis,
Tironem refovendo suum clementius istum
Ipsi dona dedit tantae praeclara sophiae,
Quod non est illo penitus sapientior ullus
65 Inter mortales fragilis mundi sapientes.

25 Their union the Triune God blessed with three sons,
thereby bestowing even then a grace upon the kindly
race, so that after the death of the revered King Henry
no wicked men might evilly seize the control of the
30 kingdom, but that these sons, descended from royal line-
age, might rule their paternal realm in harmonious
peace. Yet unlike distinctions were reserved for these
princes, so that one was to rule and two be subject to
him.

Otto, the first born among them, shone as the morning
star, beaming with a radiance of goodness famed far and
35 wide. Him the Eternal King with His wonted kindness
destined as the ruler of a duly faithful people. He, as
superior in age and likewise greater in achievements,
was suited to wielding the sceptre when his father died.
There is no need to express in words the full tale of
40 his integrity, or the praiseworthy virtue of so distin-
guished a youth, for whom even now Christ is so increas-
ing his renown that he with weighty right is taking pos-
session of haughty Rome--Rome which has ever been the
great capital of the established world. And with Christ
45 favoring him he is subduing the barbarian races who
heretofore often disrupted Holy Church.

Henry, born after him, was illustrious because he had
received the name of his father, the king. In an equal
degree the provident wisdom of Christ, the Lord, deigned
to preserve him as a brave leader for his people, so
50 that as a courageous fighter, well skilled in the arts
of war, he might bravely protect Holy Church, stoutly
warding off the weapons of the foe like a strong ram-
part.

After him was born Bruno, a priest of Mother Church.
Him the sublime grace of the Eternal High-priest deemed
55 worthy to exercise care over a Catholic people. Thus at
the bidding of God, the kindly solicitude of his father
has dedicated him to the service of Christ, so that,
withdrawn from the cherished bosom of his dear mother
and withdrawn from the splendors of the realm, he might
be able to stand as a soldier in the star-swept court of
the ever reigning Lord. But Christ, the true wisdom of
the Eternal Father, cherishing indulgently this His re-
cruit, bestowed upon him such remarkable gifts of wisdom
that there is none more utterly wise than he among the
65 mortal sages of this perishable world.

- His igitur pueris regali more nutritis,
Ipsorum patri famoso denique regi
Henrico placuit, factis quod rite replevit,
Ut, vitae calidas sospes dum carperet auras,
70 Ipse suo primogenito regique futuro
Oddoni dignam iam disponeret amicam,
Quae propriae proli digne posset sociari.
Hanc non in proprio voluit conquirere regno,
Trans mare legatos sed transmisit bene cautos
75 Gentis ad Anglorum terram sat deliciosam,
Demandans, ut continuo cum munere misso
Aedwardi regis natam peterent Eaditham,
Quae patre defuncto iam tunc residebat in aula,
Fratre suo regni sceptrum gestante paterni;
80 Quem peperit regi consors non inclita regni,
Istius egregiae genitrix clarissima dominae,
Altera sed generis mulier satis inferioris.

- Haec nam versiculis proles quam scriptito regis,
Haec, inquam, fama cunctis fuerat bene nota:
85 Nobilitate potens, primis meritis quoque pollens,
Edita magnorum summo de germine regum;
Cuius praeclaro facies candore serena
Regalis formae miro rutilabat honore;
Ipsaque perfectae radiis fulgens bonitatis
90 In patria talis meruit praeconia laudis,
Ut fore iudico plebis decernitur omnis
Optima cunctarum, quae tunc fuerant, mulierum.
Nec mirum, meritis si lucebat bene primis,
Cermen sanctorum quam producebat avorum:
95 Hanc tradunt ergo natam de stirpe beata
Oswaldi regis, laudem cuius canit orbis,
Se quia subdiderat morti pro nomine Christi.

- At regis nostri venientes denique missi
Ad fratrem dominae iam tunc residentis in arce,
100 Illi nudabant, quaecumque secreta ferebant.
Quae sibi percerte comperta satis placuere;
Moxque suae dulci narrabat voce sorori,
Exortans illam regi parere fideli,
Illam qui propriae proli voluit sociari.
105 Cumque suae monitis menti instillaret amicis
Oddonis dulcem, pueri regalis, amorem,

When, therefore, the princes had been reared according to royal custom, Henry, their illustrious father and king, decided in mind and carried out in deed that, while he was himself still breathing the warm breath of life, he would at once betroth to Otto, his first born son and the future king, a suitable maiden, that she could worthily be joined in wedlock to his own son. He desired to seek her not in his own dominion, but he sent duly experienced representatives to the charming land of the nation of the Angles, instructing them forthwith to go, with accompanying gifts, in quest of Edith, daughter of King Edward. Since her father was dead, she, even at this time, resided in court while the administration of the paternal domain was managed by her brother, whom an ignoble consort had borne to the king. The mother of this excellent maiden was most illustrious, but the other woman was of greatly inferior descent.

For this daughter of a king about whom I compose verses was, I say, by reputation well known to all. Influential because of her nobility and equally so because of her esteemed excellences, she was a descendant of an eminent family of great monarchs. Her calm countenance was one of remarkable sincerity, and she was resplendent with a wondrous charm of queenly bearing. Adorned with a radiance of such exceeding goodness, she merited such a meed of praise in her native land that public opinion by a unanimous decision rated her the best of all women who existed at that time. Little wonder that she was conspicuous for eminent virtues, since she was descended from a family of sainted ancestors. For they say, furthermore, that she was descended from the blessed stock of King Oswald, with whose praise the universe resounds because he submitted himself to death for the name of Christ.

But the representatives of our king, who had been commissioned with the embassy, came to the brother of the princess, who then was residing in the castle, and disclosed to him whatever official messages they bore. What he learned officially pleased him exceedingly, and presently in a kind voice he related it to his sister, urging her to obey the exemplary king who wished her to be allied to his own son. And when by friendly admonition he had poured into her heart a sweet love for Otto, the royal prince, then the brother with exceeding diligence, gathered countless treasures. But when he deemed

- Colligit innumeras summo conamine gazas.
 Ast ubi collecti visum fuerat satis ipsi,
 Praedictam sociis domnam comitantibus aptis
 110 Trans mare percerte summo direxit honore,
 Condonans illi gazas nimium pretiosas;
 Necnon germanam secum transmisit Adivam,
 Quae fuit aetatis meriti pariterque minoris:
 Quo sic maiorem prorsus conferret honorem
 115 Oddoni, nato famosi regis amando,
 Egregiae binas stirpis mittendo puellas,
 Ut sibi, quam vellet, sponsam licito sociaret.
 Aspectu primo sed mox Eadit veneranda,
 Iure placens cunctis habitu summae bonitatis,
 120 Regali nato censetur congrue digna.
 Haec illi dulcem peperit clarissima prolem,
 Nomine Liudulfum, tantis genitoribus aptum;
 Quem populus merito dilexit amore tenello,
 Exoptans prolongari vitam satis ipsi.
- 125 Istis sic habitis, instabat denique finis
 Henrici regis; cuius mortem gemit omnis
 Illius imperio populus iurique subactus.
 Quo nam defuncto, regnum susceperat ODDO,
 Eiusdem primogenitus regis venerandus;
 130 Et, voto cuncti iam respondente popelli,
 Unguitur in regem, Christo praestante, potentem.
 Cui rex gratiolae caeli munuscula tantae
 Contulit, ut digne cunctis celeberrimus ipse
 Gestorum reges fama praecelleret omnes,
 135 Oceanus refluis quos nam circumfluit undis.
 Insuper e tantis ipsum sacra dextra potentis
 Protegit insidiis occulta fraude paratis
 Et tam magnificis ornat persaepe triumphis,
 Ut credas regem David regnare fidelem
 140 Jam nunc antiquis fulgentem rite triumphis;
 Nec solum gentes frenis moderat bonitatis,
 Quae prius imperio patris dederant sua colla,
 Sed multo plures certe sibi vindicat ipse,
 Subdens gentiles Christi servis nationes,
 145 Quo pax ecclesiae fieret stabilita sacratae.
 Ad bellum certe quoties processerat ipse,
 Non fuerat populus, quamvis virtute superbus,
 Laedere qui posset vel exsuperare valeret
 Ipsum caelestis fultum solamine regis;
 150 Eius nec cessit telis exercitus ullis,
 Ni sua spernendo forsán regalia iussa

that enough had been amassed, he dispatched the princess
110 carefully with suitable attendants across the sea, heap-
ing high honors upon her and bestowing upon her the
riches exceedingly precious. With her he sent her sis-
ter, Adiva, who was younger in years and likewise in-
115 ferior in merit. Thus he bestowed greater honor upon
Otto, the loving son of the illustrious king, by sending
two girls of eminent birth, that he might lawfully es-
pouse whichever one of them he wished. But at first
120 sight the revered Edith, truly pleasing at once to all
because of the endowments of her great goodness, was
deemed duly worthy to be the consort of a royal prince.
And this illustrious lady bore him a dear son, Liudulf
by name, a son worthy of such parents. The people,
praying that life for him be duly prolonged, rightly
cherished him with a tender love.

125 Thus these matters occurred, and finally the end ap-
proached for King Henry. At his death, the whole nation
subject to his just rule mourned. And after his demise
Otto, the venerable first born son of the king, fell
heir to the kingdom. And with the responsive prayer of
130 a unanimous people, he, with the approval of Christ, was
anointed into the mighty kingship. Upon him the King of
Heaven bestowed gifts of such sweet grace that he, wor-
thily distinguished in all respects, eclipsed by the re-
135 nown of his achievements all the kings whom the ocean
with its reciprocal waves enfolds. Moreover, the holy
Hand of God protects him from great and mighty snares
devised by secret treachery, and so often honors him
with splendid triumphs that one may believe that even
140 now it is the faithful King David, duly resplendent with
ancient triumphs, who is seated on the throne. Not only
did he maintain his power by the bonds of kindliness
over the tribes who had previously surrendered to the
sway of his father, but on his own part he reduced many
more to his authority, subduing the pagan nations into
145 the service of Christ, so that a firm peace might be
established for Holy Church.

As often as he set out for war, there was not a
people, though haughty because of its strength, that
could harm or conquer him, supported as he was by the
150 consolation of the Heavenly King. Nor did his army give
way to any assault unless, perchance, in scorning his

Illic pugnaret, quo rex idem prohiberet.

- At dux Henricus, frater regis venerandus,
Princeps in regno fuerat tunc nempe quieto
155 Post regem, plebi merito venerabilis omni.
Qui sibi condigne legali iunxit amore
Arnulfi natam, ducis egregii, generosam,
Nomine Iudittam, vultus splendore coruscam
Ac fulgore magis cunctae nitidam bonitatis.
160 His ita digestis, fuerat pax undique nostris
Ad tempus modicum libitoque minus populorum,
Bellorum certe saevo clangore tacente.

- O quam tranquillum ridens deduceret aevum
Fortunata satis nostrae res publica gentis,
165 Quae nimis imperio regis regitur sapientis,
Si non antiqui male calliditas inimici
Turbaret nostrum secreta fraude serenum!
Denique, devictis aligenorum bene telis,
Exoritur nostris subito discordia fortis,
170 Laeserat et plebem bellum civile fidelem
Plus quam bellorum structura frequens variorum.
Huius causa mali fuerat non parva dolendi,
Denique conflictus quorundam non moderatus,
Ex quibus Henrico quaedam pars mente benigna
175 Devovit regis fratri ius vernulitatis,
Pars Evurhardo comiti studium famulandi.
At cum quisque sui peteret solamina domni,
Hinc gravior dominis discordia nascitur ipsis.
Tandem percerte conflictu progrediente,
180 Praedictus praeses, male collectas legiones
Mox ad castellum Baduliki capiendum
Ex improviso mittens sub nocte nigella,
Duxit captivum fratrem regis generosum
Henricum, vinclis palmas stringendo cruentis
185 Eius candidolas, ornamentis magis aptas;
Atque suas gazas disperdens innumerosas,
At sua mox prolem secum deduxit herilem,
Utitur ut socio proprii domini quoque nato.
Quo rex comperto, maerens sub corde secreto,
190 Deflevit tristis nimium miserabile factum;

kingly commands it fought where the king had forbidden it to fight.

155 But Duke Henry, the esteemed brother of the king, respected by the people because of his goodness, was then second to the king in the peaceful realm. He in lawful wedlock duly allied himself to Judith, the noble daughter of the distinguished Duke Arnulf. Her countenance, resplendent in beauty, was the more charming by reason of the lustre of every virtue.

160 After these events, while the clangor of war remained stilled, there was peace far and wide for our people, which was not in perfect harmony with the warlike tendencies of the other tribes.

165 O what a serene age the pleasant and truly fortunate nation of our people would have enjoyed, ruled as it was by the sway of a truly wise king, had not the wicked cunning of the ancient foe disturbed our placid existence by his secret wiles!

170 In fine, when we had happily escaped the blows of the barbarians, a powerful dissension suddenly arose among our people, and civil war harassed the faithful folk more than the oft repeated preparations of diverse wars without. The cause of this doleful evil was no trifling one, and the struggle of certain individuals was not kept within bounds. Now of these, some who were kindly disposed towards Henry promised to the brother of the king feudal loyalty, while others promised like zeal to Eberhard. But when each sought the solace of his own master, then the strife on the part of the leaders themselves became the more serious. At last with the conflict actually progressing, the aforesaid Eberhard presently sent without warning, under cover of dark night, 180 soldiers levied with evil intent, to seize the fortress of Belege, and he led Henry, the noble brother of the king, captive, binding with cruel chains his white hands better suited for adornment. And plundering his boundless wealth, he brought with him to his own lands the noble offspring of his feudal lord, so that he was using the son of his own superior as a hostage.

190 When the king learned this, he grieved in his inmost soul and wept with deep sadness over the heinous deed.

- Vix quoque germani damnum patiens grave cari,
 Nobile mox Abrahæ factum sequitur patriarchæ.
 Quod miserans egit, dum Loth ex hoste redemit;
 Militibusque suis summo conamine lectis
 195 Necnon inmodica tota de gente caterva,
 Pompa regali pergit solamina fratri
 Ferre sub ingenti cordis languore dolentis.
 Nec mora, quem venit fratrem refovere, redemit
 Auctores tanti condempnavitque piaculi,
 200 Suspendens quosdam ligno reprobis reparato,
 Quosdam de patria mandans discedere cara.

- Eis bene dispositis regis iussu sapientis,
 Protulit antiqui rursum mala fraus inimici
 Inventum sceleris primo mage deterioris,
 205 Cunctis horrendum saeculis meritoque stupendum.
 Denique praedictus postquam rediens Evurhardus
 Praeses ab exilio patriam remeabat amandam,
 Hoc sibi gratiola regis praestante benigna,
 Gisilberhto comiti vinclis sociatus amoris
 210 Consilium dederat, (quod non tibi, Christe, placebat),
 Ut caperent iustum regem, domini benedictum.
 Et quod plus iusto non iustam vim faciendo
 Illum mox proprio depriverent male regno.
 Hoc quoque consilium perversa mente repertum
 215 Henrico regis fratri suasere fidelis,
 Mulcentes nimium verbis ipsum male blandis,
 Quo prius illatum nollet iam reddere damnum,
 Ipsorum votis sed plus parendo nefandis
 Susciperet regnum, depulso fratre, regendum.
 220 Qui, male blanditis tandem victus suadelis,
 (Pro dolor) ipsorum se promisit fore promptum
 Votis, ac firmis hoc confirmaverat orsis;
 Sed spero certe non se sic corde tenere,
 Illis consensum sed vi praebere coactum.
 225 Qui, male namque spei vacuae solamine capti,
 Sperabant regem populos olim dominantem
 Ipsorum fragili citius subiungere iuri.
 Sed rex de caelis, iudex aequissimus orbis,
 Cunctorum solus qui cognoscit cogitatus
 230 Vanaque mortalis potis est disperdere cordis,

Moreover, he brooked not the painful loss of his dear brother but presently followed in his own action the well-known deed of Abraham, which that patriarch in compassion performed in ransoming Lot from the enemy. With the greatest pains he chose his soldiers and a huge crowd from the whole people, and then proceeded in solemn procession to bring consolation to his princely brother in the great weariness of his grieving heart. Without delay he ransomed the brother whom he came to comfort, and he condemned the instigators of the dastardly crime, hanging some of the criminals on a scaffold, and commanding others to depart from their dear native land.

When by the order of the wise king these matters had been properly taken care of, a wicked plot of the ancient enemy again proffered a device of crime worse by far than the first one and truly for all ages a thing to be shuddered at in dread. In fine, the aforesaid leader, Eberhard, returned from exile to his cherished fatherland, the kindly favor of the king making his return possible. To Cilbert, his companion, to whom he was joined by firm ties, he had given advice (which to Thee, O Christ, was displeasing), urging him to seize the Christian king, the blessed of the Lord. And he said that by making injustice prevail over justice they would soon deprive him of his own kingdom. Further, they urged this plan, product of a depraved heart, upon Henry, brother of the faithful king, wickedly coaxing him with flattering speeches not to be minded to repay the wrong he had previously suffered, but rather, by obeying their infamous desires, to depose his brother and receive the kingdom to rule.

Conquered at last by viciously delusive persuasions, Henry, alas, promised that he would be ready for their demands and this he confirmed by strong oaths; but I hope that he did not feel thus in his heart, but that he had been constrained by force to agree with them. For they, captivated with the wicked solace of an idle hope, expected to subdue to their frail sway the king ruling our various peoples. But the King of Heaven, the most just Judge of the world, Who alone knows the thoughts of all and is able to destroy the delusions of the human heart, brought to naught the fabrication of his heinous crime by the strength of His mighty hand which created

- Commentum tanti sceleris virtute potentis
 Dextrae confregit, qua cuncta creata creavit:
 Scilicet insidias christo domini reparatas
 Vertit in auctores tanti meritoque piaculi;
 235 Quique suo laqueos domino tendere malignos,
 Ex ipsis ipsi primum sunt illaqueati.
- Non me plus licito tantae sophiae fore iacto,
 Ut sperem plene verbis edicere posse,
 Quanta gratiolae Christus virtute supernae
 240 Saepius hunc ipsum regem digne benedictum
 Fecit multiplices saluum percurrere fraudes
 Necnon insidias hostili parte paratas;
 Sed nec hoc fragilis fas esse reor mulieris
 Inter coenobii positae secreta quieti,
 245 Ut bellum dictet, quod nec cognoscere debet.
 246 Haec perfectorum sunt conservanda virorum
 249 Sudori, quis posse dedit sapientia mentis
 250 Omnia compositis sapienter dicere verbis
 248 Hoc dico solum, (recte quod dicere possum):
 247 Principium qui cunctarum, finis quoque rerum,
 251 Qui solus semper fecit miranda potenter
 Quique, David regem toties de fraude fidelem
 Eripiens Sauli, sceptrum regni dedit ipsi,
 Hunc pariter regem David pietate sequentem
 255 Protexit de millenis persaepe periculis.
 Denique, cum solus, praepauco milite saeptus,
 Esset ab adversis circumdatus undique turmis,
 Insuper atque fugam propriae partis male factam
 Pectore maerenti ferret nimiumque dolenti
 260 Credere nec paucis sese praesumeret ipsis,
 Illum qui reliquis non deseruere relapsis,
 Saepe ratus tantum se mox graviter moriturum:
 Ociosus auxilii fultus virtute superni,
 Miratur turbae se iam superare cruentae
 265 Tantas absque suae fraudes discrimine vitae.
 At si forte suos, pugna crescente sinistra,
 Audivit socios letali vulnere laesos,
 Praedicti regis lacrimans mox utitur orsis,
 Quae maerens dixit, tristi cum pectore sensit
 270 Ictibus angelici populum gladii periturum:
 'En, qui peccavi, dixit, facinusque peregi;
 Hinc ego vindictae dignus sum denique tantae!

the whole universe. He duly turned the intrigues prepared against the anointed of the Lord against the promoters of this heinousness, and they who wove malign
235 snares for their lord were themselves the first to be entrapped by their own devices.

I do not boast that I am of such great wisdom--more than is seemly--as to hope to be able to express fully in words with what great strength of heavenly grace
240 Christ, again and again, arranged it that this very king deservedly blessed passed unharmed through manifold snares and plots prepared by a hostile faction. But I do not think it fitting for a frail woman abiding in the
245 enclosure of a peaceful monastery to speak of war, with which she ought not even to be acquainted. These matters should be reserved for the toil of qualified men, to whom wisdom of mind has granted the ability to express all things wisely in eloquent terms. I relate
250 this only which I can rightly recount: He, Who is of all things the beginning and likewise the end, Who alone has ever performed wondrous deeds powerfully, and Who many times snatched faithful King David from the intrigues of Saul and gave the power of the throne to
255 David: He in an equal degree, amid a thousand perils, over and over again protected Otto, the imitator of David in goodness.

And finally, when alone and supported by very few soldiers, Otto had been surrounded on all sides by hostile forces, and in addition was enduring with a sorrowing heart and excessive grief a wicked desertion on the part of his own adherents and dared not entrust himself
260 even to his own few supporters who did not desert him, though the others had fled, he thought many a time that he was soon grievously to die. Then quickly supported by the strength of aid from on high, he had to marvel that he was now overcoming the treachery of the blood-thirsty mob without hazard to his own life. If haply,
265 with the fight progressing unfavorably, he heard that his companions were suffering from mortal wounds, he wept and presently made use of the words of David, words which that ancient king had spoken when he saw with sadness of heart that the people were to perish from the
270 blows of an angel's sword: "Lo", he said, "it is I who have sinned and I have committed the crime; I therefore am worthy of such vengeance! What have these done, who

- Hi quid fecerunt, damnum qui tale tulerunt?
 Jam nunc, Christe, tuis parcens miserere redemptis,
 275 Ne premat insontes iusto plus vis inimica!
 Has igitur preculas miserans divina potestas
 Parcebat regis solita pietate ministris
 Et dedit optatum miserans ex hoste triumphum,
 Iusto praedictos comites examine perdens.
 280 Ipso namque die, quo, decepti vacua spe,
 Speravere suis constringendum fore vinclis
 Regem, qui merito tenuit regalia sceptrā,
 Ex inproviso praeses proruperat Udo,
 Adducendo quidem multam secum legionem,
 285 Ac subiit validum forti luctamine bellum;
 Nec mora, percussus periit gladiis Evurhardus,
 Cislberhtus saevis fugiens quoque mergitur undis.
 At rex interea nescit tam fortia bella,
 Averso quidni residens in litore Reni,
 290 Nec tunc auxilii scivit solamina tanti
 Jam, miserante deo, subito casu sibi missa.
 Denique dum pugnae sensit discrimina tantae,
 Haud gaudens inimicorum de morte suorum,
 Sed plus tantorum maerens de caede virorum,
 295 Sumpsit non modicum, Davidis more, lamentum,
 Qui super occisum doluit regem pie Saulum.

- Ast ubi victores laeti venere, videntes
 Illius fusis vultum lacrimis madefactum,
 Haud aptum tanto luctum dixere triumpho,
 300 Sed reddi grates regi debere perenni,
 Qui tunc impleri fecit pietate fideli,
 Quod patet in libro regis scriptum Salomonis,
 Dicentis iustum de tristitia liberandum
 Necnon iniustum pro iusto mox fore dandum.
 305 His mentem regis demulcendo suadelis,
 Ipsum tristitiam cogunt deponere tantam
 Et bene victrici congaudentem legioni
 Se post bella suis blandum praebere ministris.
 Qui nam, laetitiam vultu monstrans moderatam,
 310 Sed clam subtristem servans in corde dolorem,
 Reddebat grates imo de pectore Christo,
 Non dederat propriis ipsum quia tunc inimicis
 Praedam, sed dextra protegit rite superna;
 Ipsius titulum tanti clarumque triumphī
 315 Non sibi, sed Christi designavit pietati.

have suffered so great a loss? Even now commiserate them, O Christ, sparing those whom Thou hast redeemed, lest a hostile force overwhelm the innocent too much!"

275 Having compassion, then, by reason of these prayers, the Divine Power with Its wonted benignity spared the servants of the king, and in Its mercy granted the wished for triumph from the enemy, destroying by a just test

280 the aforesaid companions. For on that very day on which, deceived by a vain trust, they hoped that the king, who rightly held the royal power, would be fettered with their chains, Duke Udo, unexpectedly bringing with him a large force, hastened forward and with vigorous effort entered into the mighty war. Speedily then

285 was Eberhard smitten by swords and destroyed, and Gilbert, fleeing, drowned in a raging stream. But the king, meanwhile, tarrying on the opposite bank of the Rhine, did not know of so fierce a struggle, nor did he then know that the solace of such powerful assistance had already, through the mercy of God, been suddenly sent to him. Finally, when he realized the intensity of the fight, he rejoiced not at the death of his enemies, but rather mourned at the slaughter of so many men,

290 lamenting unrestrainedly in the manner of David, who had grieved piously because of the slaying of King Saul.

But when the victors came joyfully and saw his countenance moistened with flowing tears, they declared that grief was unsuited for so signal a triumph, but that

300 thanks ought rather to be given to the Eternal King, Who by His constant kindness had then brought about the fulfillment of what is clearly written in the Book of King Solomon, who says that the just shall be freed from

305 distress and the unjust soon be given over to justice. Soothing the mind of the king with these persuasive words, they urged him to lay aside his deep sadness and to rejoice duly with his victorious troops and to display a happy countenance before his subjects after the

310 wars. The King, then, exhibiting a moderate joy of face but secretly nursing a sad grief in his soul, returned thanks to Christ from his inmost heart because He had not given him over as booty to his enemies, but had, by His divine power, duly protected him; and the distinguished title of the victory he had won he attributed, not to himself, but to the benignity of Christ.

- His ita digestis, modicum tempus requievit
Civilis belli populus luctamine lassus.
Sed nec sic veteris finem sumpsit dolus hostis,
Qui semper fragiles temptat pervertere mentes,
320 Post factum facinus suadens superaddere peius.
Fertur percerte quorundam pectora bile
Tanto pestiferi tandem penetrare veneni,
Ut mortem regi vellent inferre fideli
Ipsius et fratrem populo praeponere regem;
325 Nec timere diem paschae sanctum maculare,
Si posset fieri, fuso cum sanguine iusti.
Sed non consensit tanti commissa piaculi
Agnus paschalis, qui pro nobis redimendis
Se dedit electum patri moriens holocaustum:
330 Sed mox consilium cunctis nudavit eorum,
Et sic insontis salvatus erat bene sanguis;
Quique rei placiti sunt inventi scelerosi,
Pro modulo culpae poenis damnantur amaris:
Quidam iudicio quidni dantur capitali,
335 Quidam de patria longe pelluntur amanda.

- Post haec Henricus, frater regis generosus,
Christi gratiola tactus sub corde secreto,
Secum tractavit summoque dolore revolvit.
Contra iustitiam quicquid perfecerat unquam.
340 Hoc quoque deflevit nimis persaepe lamentis,
Quod male blanditis horum cessit suadelis,
Ipsum qui verbis corruerunt simulatis.
Sed quamvis talem ferret sub corde dolorem,
Praesentare tamen spatii per tempora longi
345 Non se regali praesumebat faciei;
Absens sed cordis studio florente dolentis
Optabat veniae dari munus sibi dulce.
Tandem percerte forti devictus amore,
Ilico poenalem proicit de corde timorem
350 Et, sub nocturnis nimium secreto tenebris
Adveniens, in regalem se contulit urbem,
In qua natalem regis celebrare perennis
Rex pius obsequiis coepit sollempniter aptis.
Depositisque suis ornamentis pretiosis,
355 Simplicis et tenuis fruitur velamine vestis,
Inter sacratos noctis venerabilis hymnos
Intrans nudatis templi sacra limina plantis;
Nec horret hiemis saevum frigus furientis,
Sed prono sacrae vultu prostratus ad aram

After these events, the nation rested for a brief period, exhausted by the struggle of civil war. But even then the guile of the ancient foe, which always seeks to pervert feeble hearts, did not cease, but after
320 the deed of ill urged the addition of a worse crime. The enemy is said to have entered the breasts of certain men with such frenzy of destructive poison that they desired to inflict death upon the faithful king and to appoint his brother as ruler over the nation; nor did they
325 fear to desecrate the holy day of Easter with the shedding of the blood of the just king, if only they could. But the Paschal Lamb, Who gave Himself in death as a chosen holocaust to His Father for our redemption, permitted not the commission of that hideous crime. But
330 presently He exposed their plan to all men, and thus happily the blood of the innocent king was saved, and those who were found guilty of the accursed crime were condemned to bitter punishment in proportion to the measure of their guilt. Some were sentenced to execution, and others were exiled far from their dear native land.

After these events, Henry, the noble brother of the king, touched in his inmost heart with the grace of Christ, pondered within himself and reflected with great sorrow upon what wrong he had ever committed in
340 the face of justice. And he wept frequently with excessive tears over this fact also, that he had wickedly yielded to the alluring persuasions of those who by their hypocritical speeches had seduced him. But, although he bore this grief deep in his heart, nevertheless for a long period of time he dared not approach the royal presence; but keeping aloof, in the burning zeal of his sorrowing heart he longed for the granting of the sweet gift of pardon. At last, conquered by strong
345 love, he forthwith thrust from his bosom fear of punishment; and, arriving very stealthily under cover of nocturnal darkness, he entered the royal city, in which the holy ruler, solemnly and with fitting ceremonies, had begun to celebrate the Birthday of the Eternal King. There, laying aside his costly jewels, he donned a garment of simple and thin texture, and amid the venerable
350 hymns of the Holy Night he entered the sacred threshold of the church with bare feet, shuddering not at the bitter cold of the raging winter, but with downcast countenance prostrating himself at the sacred altar and

- 350 Corpus frigoreae sociavit nobile terrae,
Sic sic maerentis toto conamine cordis
Optans praestari veniae munus sibi dulce.
Quo rex comperto, victus pietate benigna
Instantisque memor festi cunctis venerandi,
365 In quo caelicolae pacem mundo cecinere,
Laeti rege suo tenera de virgine nato,
Ut pie salvaret mundum merito periturum,
Pro diei tantae pacem portantis honore
Condoluit miserans fratri commissa fatenti
370 Atque suam pie gratiolam concessit habendam
Illi cum veniae dilecto munere plenae;
Necnon post aliquot spatii tempuscula parvi
Ipsius iuri proceres subiunxerat omnes
Famosae nimium gentis Baioariorum,
375 Ipsum nempe ducem merito faciendo potentem:
Et post haec ultra fuerat discordia nulla
Inter eos, animis fraterno foedere iunctis.
Avaresque per hunc saevi saepissime victi
Post haec Ottonis regnum regis spatiosum
380 Non laedunt telis consueto more cruentis
Tangere nec contingentes audent nationes,
Ex terrore ducis tanti nimium tremefacti;
Hic quia, prudentis functus valitudine mentis,
His hominum monstris bellis obstans iteratis
385 Ad nos pergendi calles secluserat omnes.
Insuper et primus, Christi munimine tutus,
Audenter cum subiectae plebis legione
Eiusdem populi patriam petiit scelerosi,
Impugnans gentem cunctis retro namque rebellem;
390 Scilicet et spoliis rerum captis variarum,
Quas sibi communes collegerunt prius hostes
Orbis perplures devastantes regiones,
Uxores procerum soboles rapuit quoque dulces:
Et sic prostratis rediit gaudens inimicis.
- 395 Istis sic habitis, proserata diecula tristic
Venerat, ingentem nostris augendo dolorem,
In qua praefulgens meritis regina supremis
Aedit praesentis vitae discessit ab horis,
Ipsius imperio genti faciens famulanti
400 Tristitiam necnon nimium cordis cruciatum
Eius in abscessu; magno quam denique luctu,
Et non inmerito, flevit plebecula cuncta,

360 throwing his princely form upon the icy earth. Thus,
thus with the whole strength of his grieving heart he
longed to have the sweet gift of a full pardon vouch-
safed to him. When the king became aware of his desire,
365 he was overcome by a benign kindliness; and mindful of
the approach of the feast of universal veneration on
which the heavenly hosts sang peace to the world in
their joy at the birth of their King, from a tender Vir-
gin, that He might generously save the world which de-
served to perish, Otto, in deference to the greatness of
370 that peace-bringing day, pitied his repentant brother
and sympathized with him in his admission of his offen-
ses. And in his kindliness he granted him the enjoyment
of his favor along with the loving gift of a full par-
don. And after some small interval of time he subor-
375 dinated all the chiefs of the renowned tribe of the
Bavarians to Henry's jurisdiction and duly appointed him
their mighty leader. And now that their hearts were
united in brotherly concord, there was thereafter no
further disharmony between them. The fierce Avars fre-
quently conquered by Henry, subsequently no longer
380 harassed the extensive realm of King Otto in their usual
manner with bloody arms, nor did the neighboring tribes,
in their dread of the doughty Duke, dare molest the
kingdom. Because he acted with the vigor of an under-
standing mind, preventing these continuous destructive
wars of men, he had barred all the avenues of approach
385 to us. Besides and foremost, safe with the strength of
Christ, he courageously sought out with a troop of con-
quered people the native land of this same wicked race,
fighting against the nation that was rebellious against
all other men. For, taking possession of the various
390 spoils which the common enemy had gathered as it laid
waste very many sections of the world, he carried off
also the wives and dear children of the leaders; and
when he had thus vanquished his foes, he returned in
joy.

395 When these affairs had thus occurred, the mournful
day for intensifying our deep sorrow speedily came for
us, the day on which Queen Edith, resplendent with
eminent virtues, left the confines of this present life,
causing by her death sadness and excessive grief of
400 heart to the nation serving under her jurisdiction.
With intense grief--and fittingly so--the whole race
mourned her, a race which she had cherished with a love

- Quam plus maternae fovit pietatis amore,
 Quam dominatricis iussis confringeret artis.
 405 Cui licet a Christo requiem sine fine perennem
 Necnon laetitiam iustis retro reparatam
 Praestari citius iam non dubitaverit ullus,
 Qui meritum vitae scivit laudabile castae
 Ipsius ac mitem, gessit quam denique, mentem:
 410 Attamen humanae pro consuetudine causae
 Non mirum, populus planctum si sumpsit amarum,
 Dum sibi tam subito fuerat spes tanta retracta
 Et facies domnae nimium regalis amandae
 Necnon subiecti praefulgens gloria regni
 415 Mandatur terrae gremio servanda sub amplo,
 Donec assurgat non corruptumque resumat,
 Quod nunc includit tumulus, praenobile corpus.

- Haec igitur puerum supra paucis memoratum
 Acriter orbatum dimittebat Liudulfum
 420 Feminei dulcem sexus unam quoque prolem,
 Nomine Liudgardam, summa bonitate coruscam,
 Moribus et facie similem matri venerandae.
 In quas percerte soboles mox stirpis amandae
 Affectu cordis populus deducitur omnis
 425 Magno pro meritis summis utriusque parentis.
 Sed magis, ac iuste, dulci fervebat amore
 Erga regalem puerum domnum Liudulfum,
 Ipsum spe mentis tota complexus amantis.
 Hicque, sibi naturales imitans bene mores,
 430 Extiterat cunctis blandus dulcedine mentis,
 Mansuetus, clemens, humilis nimiumque fidelis;
 Hinc quoque gratiolam, Christo praestante benigno,
 Tantam promeruit meritam digneque recepit
 Gentibus in cunctis patris imperio religatis,
 435 Ut, quicumque suae saltim praepaucula famae
 Verbula conciperet latebris propensius auris,
 Ipsius in dulcem totus raperetur amorem,
 Absentem venerans animis dominum studiosis.
 Quem pater egregius, rex et senior venerandus,
 440 Dilectae matris mortem graviter patientem,
 Affectu patrio necnon pietate benigna
 Digno percerte iam sublimavit honore,
 Subiecti faciens regni digne dominari.
 Necnon Liudgardam simili causa venerandam,
 445 Unica feminei quae spes sexus fuit illi,
 Gratiola parili coluit, provexit, amavit.

of motherly kindness rather than had dominated with the severe ordinances of a tyrannical queen.

405 No one who knew the pre-eminent merit of her chaste life and the kindly disposition which she perseveringly manifested will doubt that rest eternal without end will be vouchsafed her by Christ and that the joy prepared for the just will speedily be granted her. But, nevertheless, in accordance with the way of the human heart, there can be little wonder that the nation spent itself in bitter bewailing, when such a solace had suddenly been withdrawn from them and the queenly countenance of their dearly beloved mistress, the resplendent glory of a conquered kingdom, was entrusted to the earth to be preserved in earth's spacious bosom until she should rise again and reinhabit the body, rendered incorruptible, which the tomb now imprisons.

420 She, therefore, left her son Liudulf, mentioned a few lines above, bitterly bereft, as well as her sweet and only daughter, Liutgarda by name, resplendent with the utmost excellence and like to her revered mother in appearance and character.

425 Toward these children of lovable lineage the entire people was presently drawn with great affection of heart because of the pre-eminent merits of both parents. But more so, and even justly so, the nation cherished the princely boy, Prince Liudulf, with a sweet love. And he, charming as he was, gentle, indulgent, humble, and exceedingly faithful, practicing well all the traits natural to himself, predominated over all hearts by his affability. Hence, too, with the beneficent Christ bestowing His grace, he worthily merited and received such favor, that whosoever, among all the tribes subjected under the sway of his father, received, with ear ever ready, even the slightest report of his fame, was wholly engulfed with a sweet love for his absent lord, cherishing him with a zealous heart. Him did his renowned father, king and esteemed sire, grieving intensely over the death of his beloved mother, exalt with paternal affection and benign kindness and with worthy distinction making him rightful master of a subject race. With equal favor he cherished, protected, and loved Liutgarda, 440 likewise respected for her noble lineage, who was his only daughter. Her he allied in marriage to Duke

- Hanc quoque Conrado vinclis sociavit amoris,
 Egregio strenuoque duci nimium quoque forti,
 Munere qui talis dignus constabat honoris.
 450 Utque suo subdi nato faceret Liudulfo
 Multum devotae perfecto mentis amore
 Francorum gentis dominos praenobilis almos
 Necnon primates Suevorum scilicet omnes,
 Ipsi legali praepulchram foedere iungi
 455 Idam iussit, Herimanni natam ducis almi,
 Qui fuit illustris princeps in partibus illis.
 Haec quoque regalis fuerat consortia prolis
 Pro meritis propriae probitatis digna subire
 Ac vice reginae summo veneratur honore,
 460 Rege iubente quidem per consuetam pietatem;
 Illam nec habitare locis voluit segregatis
 Rex idem, nati digne succensus amore,
 Sed ceu reginam regnum transire per amplum,
 Quo sic dilectus sentiret filius eius
 465 Dulcia gratiolae semper munuscula magnae,
 Ipsi cum sponsa regni sociatus in aula.

- Interea rex Italicus gravido Hlotharius
 Infectus morbo, mundo discessit ab isto,
 Italiae regnum linquens merito retinendum
 470 Summae reginae, sibi quam sociavit amore.
 Regis Rothulfi fuerat quae filia magni,
 Edita magnorum longo de stemmate regum;
 Cui nomen clarum dictavit summa parentum
 Nobilitas, illam digne vocitans Aëthelheitham.
 475 Haec quoque regalis formae praeclara decore
 Atque suae causis personae sedula dignis
 Factis regali respondit nobilitati:
 Scilicet ingenio fuerat praelucida tanto,
 Ut posset regnum digne rexisse relictum,
 480 Si gens ipsa dolum mox non dictaret amarum.
 Denique defuncto, quem praedixi, Hluthario,
 Pars quaedam plebis fuerat, quae, retro rebellis
 Mentemque perversa propriis dominis inimica,
 Restituit Beringarii regnum ditioni,
 485 Quod, patre defuncto, raptum violenter ab illo,
 Olim per manus regis (devenit) Hugonis.
 Optato certe qui sublimatus honore
 Detegit, invidii quicquid sub pectore tristi
 Cessit, dum regni deflevit damna paterni;
 490 Felleque plus iusto cordis succensus amaro,
 Fudit in insontem concretum quippe furorem.

Conrad, illustrious, active, and exceedingly brave, who was clearly worthy of the tribute of this distinction.

450 And in order to cause the friendly rulers of the
noble race of Franks and all the chieftains of the Suevi
455 to be subjected to his son Liudulf in the perfect love
of devoted hearts, he ordered Ida, the lovely daughter
of Herman, a kindly disposed ruler and a renowned chief
in those regions, to be united to his son in lawful wed-
lock. This princess was worthy to be allied to the son
of a king because of her own excellence, and she was
460 revered with queenly honor, in accord with the accus-
tomed piety of the king's command. This king, duly af-
fectionate toward his son, did not wish her to dwell in
places far removed, but wished her to cross the exten-
sive realm as a queen, that thus his beloved son, shar-
465 ing along with his father and his spouse the privileges
of the royal court, might always realize the kindly
gifts of his father's favor.

Meanwhile, the Italian king Lothar, stricken with a
fatal illness, departed from this world, rightly leaving
the kingdom of Italy to be ruled by the will of the
470 eminent queen whom he had made his wife. She was the
daughter of the mighty Rudolph and had descended from a
long line of renowned monarchs. The distinctive nobili-
ty of her parents required an illustrious name for her,
and she was appropriately called Adelaide.

475 She was a woman illustrious in the comeliness of her
queenly beauty and solicitous in affairs worthy of her
character, and by her actions she corresponded to her
regal lineage. She possessed such pre-eminent natural
abilities that she could have ruled worthily the state
bequeathed to her, if the nation itself had not present-
480 ly given evidence of vile treachery. Now when Lothar,
whom I mentioned before, died, a certain faction of the
populace with perverted and hostile spirit offered re-
sistance to their own sovereigns and restored the king-
485 dom to the sway of Berengar, on the ground that at the
death of his father it had once been snatched from him
by violence through the instrumentality of King Hugo.
Now Berengar, exalted by the attainment of this long
desired distinction disclosed all the hatred he had
nursed in his baleful breast, deploring the while the loss
490 of his father's kingdom. And enraged with an inordina-
tely bitter animosity of heart, he extended his pent up

- Iniustam vim reginae faciens Aethelheithae,
 Quae regnans illi damnum non fecerat ullum.
 Nec solum celsae solium sibi proripit aulae,
 495 Sed simul, aerarii claustris eius reseratis,
 Omne, quod invenit, dextra tollebat avara,
 Aurum cum gemmis varii generis quoque gazis
 Necnon regalis sertum praenobile frontis,
 Ornatus nec particulam dimiserat ullam;
 500 Nec timuit propriis illam spoliare ministris
 Obsequiis quoque personis regalibus aptis
 Regalique potentatu (miserabile dictu);
 Postremo quoque pergendi pariterque manendi,
 Quo vellet, libertatem male denegat omnem,
 505 Solam cum sola committens namque puella
 Servandam cuidam comiti sua iussa sequenti.
 Qui, iussis captus regis non iusta iubentis,
 Non metuit propriam culpae sine crimine domnam
 Clausam carceris claustris servare cubilis,
 510 Circumdifflusis custodum denique turmis,
 Ut mos personas est servari scelerosas.
 Sed, qui de vinclis Petrum tollebat Herodis,
 Hanc, quando voluit, miti pietate redemit.
- Certe dum variis animo foret anxia curis
 515 Nullaque spes sibimet certi solaminis esset,
 Praesul Adhelhardus, factum deflens miserandum
 Vixque suae damnum carae patiens grave domnae,
 Illi transmisit missum mox namque secretum,
 Utque fugam caperet, monitis suasit studiosis,
 520 Ac peteret muris urbem structam bene firmis,
 Quae caput ipsius constabat pontificatus;
 Hic loca praesidii mandans tutissima certi
 Illi, condignum quoque praebere famulatum.
 His nam regales monitis pulsanibus aures,
 525 Inclita de mandatellis regina benignis
 Laetior exoptat vinclis absolvier artis;
 Quid faceret, tamen ignorat, quia nulla patebat
 Ianua, quae somno pressis custodibus alto
 Illam nocturnis pateretur abire sub horis.
 530 Sed nec personam causa famulaminis ullam
 Subiectam sibi carceris possedit in antris,
 Ipsius implendis esset quae sedula iussis,
 Ni supradictam solummodo namque puellam
 Necnon presbiterum vitae laudabilis unum.
 535 His ubi continuis narraret cuncta lamentis,

fury against the innocent, perpetrating unjust violence against Queen Adelaide, who as queen had done him no harm. Not only did he seize the throne of the illustrious court, but at the same time he unbarred the doors
495 of the treasury and carried off with grasping hand everything he found; gold, jewels of various kinds, treasures, and the lordly crown to grace a king's brow;
500 no single detail of adornment did he pass by. He feared not to deprive her of her own attendants and those suited for waiting upon royal personages, and--dreadful to mention!--her queenly sovereignty. Lastly, too, he maliciously denied her all freedom of going or likewise
505 of abiding where she wished, commanding her to go forth with but one lady-in-waiting and to be guarded by a minion, subject to himself. This man, prisoner of a king whose injunctions were far from just, dreaded not to guard his own mistress, guileless though she was, and
510 to keep her enclosed by the barriers of a prison-like cell with guards spread about the place in a manner customary for patrolling criminals. But He who freed Peter from the chains of Herod released her, when He willed, with tender kindness.

While she was undoubtedly distressed in soul by diverse apprehensions and had no hope of certain consolation, the Bishop Adelhard, deploring the obnoxious deed and not brooking the painful loss of his dear queen, presently sent a secret message and urged her with zealous exhortations to attempt flight and to direct her
520 course to the city well built with strong ramparts which he had established as his Episcopal See. He directed that quarters offering the safest possible protection be provided for her and that a worthy servant be given her. When these admonitions came to her royal knowledge, the
525 illustrious queen, now the more joyful by reason of these kindly provisional bequests, longed to be liberated from the chains that bound her fast. Yet she knew not what to do, since no door stood open to allow her to escape during the nightly hours while the sentries were overwhelmed with deep sleep.

530 In this prison dungeon she had no one subject to her as a servant, to be solicitous in discharging her demands, except only the maid mentioned above and one priest of exemplary life. Now when, with constant weeping,
535 ing, she had told them with bitterness of soul all that

- Quae maerens animo multum volvebat amaro,
 Voti communis placito visum fuit illis,
 Res melius verti, studio si forte latenti
 Sub terra foveam facerent fodiendo secretam,
 540 Per quam de vinclis possent evadere duris.
 Haec ita percerte constat completa fuisse
 Ocuis, auxilio Christi praesente benigni.
 Nam caute fovea iuxta placitum reparata,
 Advenit libertati nox apta recenti,
 545 In qua, dum somnus plebis perserperet artus,
 Tantum cum sociis regina piissima binis
 Custodum fraudes fugiens evaserat omnes
 Atque viae spatium noctis sub tempore tantum
 Pertransit, plantis quantum valet ergo tenellis.
 550 Sed, mox ut scissis cessit nox furva tenebris
 Atque polus radiis coepit pallescere solis,
 Abscondens in secretis se cautius antris,
 Nunc vagat in silvis, latitat nunc denique sulcis
 Inter maturas cereris crescentis aristas;
 555 Donec nox, solitis rediens induta tenebris
 Obtegat rursum nebulo terram tenebroso:
 Tunc iterato viam studiut percurrere coeptam.

- Denique custodes, illam non invenientes,
 Narrabant factum comiti nimium tremefacti.
 560 Cura cui conservandae fuit indita domnae.
 Qui, terrore gravis percussus corde timoris,
 Pergit cum sociis illam perquirere multis;
 Et cum deficeret nec iam dinoscere posset,
 Quo regina suum tulerit clarissima gressum,
 565 Detulit ad regem Æringarium timidus rem.
 Hic quoque, continuo nimiam conversus in iram,
 Circumquaque suos subito mittebat alumnos
 Praecipiens illos nullum transire locellum,
 Sed caute cunctas iam perlustrare latebras,
 570 Si forsan latebris regina lateret in ullis.
 Ipseque cum fortis sequitur turba legionis,
 Ceu qui vult hostes bello superare feroces,
 Et rapido segetem cursu peragravit eandem,
 In cuius sulcis latuit tunc donna recurvis
 575 Haec, quam quaerebat, cereris contexta sub alis;
 Sed, licet huc illucque locum percurreret insum,

she meditated in her grief stricken heart, it seemed to them, under the guidance of common prayer, that their fortunes would be changed for the better, if with stealthy zeal they dug and so made a secret tunnel under the earth through which they might be able to escape from the heavy chains of bondage. Thus it is evident that these happenings were accomplished the more speedily by the present support of the benevolent Christ. For when a tunnel had been made ready according to agreement, there came a night appropriate for immediate freedom, a night during which while sleep stole over the limbs of mankind, the virtuous queen fled with only two companions and eluded all the snares of the guards. And under cover of night she traversed as much ground as she could upon her tender feet.

But presently, as soon as dusky night scattering its shadows had withdrawn, and the heavens began to redden with the rays of the sun, she concealed herself in secluded caverns. And now she would wander in the wilderness and now lurk in furrows amid the ripened ears of growing grain, until night returning enrobed in its wonted darkness enshrouded the earth again with its sable cloud. Then a second time she took pains diligently to pursue the path begun.

At last the guards, not finding her, apprehensively related the fact to a count upon whom the duty of safeguarding her majesty had been imposed, and he, grievously frightened in heart, proceeded with many comrades to seek her out. And when he grew weary and was as yet unable to learn whither the distinguished queen had directed her course, he with great fear of heart reported the matter to King Berengar. The king, too, immediately flew into a passion of anger and began instantly sending his subordinates in every direction, instructing them not to pass by a single spot, but to examine minutely every hiding place on the chance that the queen might lie concealed in some such ambushade. And he himself followed with the full force of a brave legion, as if he were a man out to conquer a fierce foeman. In his speedy course he passed through the very grainfield in whose winding furrows the lady whom he was tracking down was hidden under the protecting curtain of blades of growing grain. But although he ran hither and thither through the very section in which she, a victim of numbing fear, was screened from sight, and though with all

In quo non parvo iacuit terrore gravata,
 Et quamvis circumpositos disiungere culmos
 Nisibus extenta cunctis temptaverit hasta,
 580 Non tamen invenit, Christi quam gratia texit.
 Ast ubi confusus rediit nimium quoque lassus,
 Praesul Adelhardus mox advenit venerandus
 Induxitque suam gaudenti pectore domnam
 Intra namque suae muros urbis bene firmos;
 585 Hicque sibi digne toto servivit honore,
 Donec maiorem Christo miserante decorem
 Regni suscepit, pridem quam maesta reliquit.

Denique nostrates quidam, tunc experientes
 Reginam domino desolatum fore caro,
 590 Cuius praedulcem gustaverunt pietatem,
 Quando per Italiam coeperunt pergere Romam,
 Eius multiplicem recitati sunt pietatem
 Crebrius Ottoni, magno tunc denique regi,
 Augusto sed Romani nunc denique regni,
 595 Nullam dicentes aliam consistere dignam
 Tecta sub ipsius thalami regalia duci
 Post obitum domnae flendum cunctis Eadithae.
 Et rex laetatus tantae dulcedine famae,
 Pectoreolvebat tacito per tempora longa,
 600 Quo pacto sibi reginam coniungeret istam,
 Quae fuit insidiis regis circumdata tantis;
 Venit et in mentem praedictum denique regem,
 Qui quondam patriis fuerat depulsus ab arvis
 Eius et auxilio citius miserante reductus,
 605 Ingratum fore nunc donis tantae pietatis.
 Hinc quoque mox aditum sibimet providerat aptum
 Ipsius Italicum iuri subiungere regnum.
 Hoc ubi colloquio sensit narrante paterno,
 Patris amor verus, spes et gentis, Liudulfus,
 610 Non sua sollicitans, patris sed comoda tractans,
 Praepaucis secum sociis secreto resumptis,
 Italiam petiit fortique manu penetravit,
 Exortans patris imperio populum dare colla;
 Moxque redit, clarum referens sine Marte triumphum.

his strength he tried to part the surrounding stalks with his extended spear, yet he found not her whom the grace of Christ had shielded. But when he had retraced his steps in bafflement and weariness, the holy Bishop Adelhard presently arrived and with joy in his heart conducted his queen within the goodly strong walls of the city we have already described. Here with all respect he duly attended her, until from the compassionating Christ she received the recompense of a kingdom greater than the one she had previously relinquished in distress.

Finally, some of our countrymen, perceiving then that the queen had been bereaved of her dear lord, and remembering that they had been the recipients of her beneficent kindness when they had begun their advance through Italy toward Rome, frequently repeated to Otto, then a great king, but now also Augustus of the Roman Empire, her manifold benevolences. They declared that none other was so worthy as she to be conducted to his royal marriage couch, after the demise of the queenly Edith, who was mourned by all.

The monarch was overjoyed with the suavity of so wondrous a reputation, and he pondered for a long time in his inmost heart as to how he might unite this queen unto himself in marriage, surrounded as she was by the craft of a wicked king. At length the aforesaid monarch remembered that, at one time when he had been expelled from his own native lands he quickly had been restored by the sympathizing support of this same queen, he would now be acting ungratefully in return for her beneficences.

Therefore he presently saw a fitting means of joining the Italian kingdom to his own. Now when Liudulf, the true love of his father and the hope of his race, had learned of this plan from conversation with his father, he proceeded to action, not under the impulse of his own ambition, but with a view to benefits toward his sire. Taking with him in secret a very few companions, he made for Italy and entered it with a small band, urging the inhabitants to submit to the sway of his father. Presently he returned, bringing with him a famous triumph without bloodshed.

- 615 Quo rex comperto populis narrantibus Otto
Corde super natum laeto plaudebat amandum,
Ipsius causa qui nam discrimina tanta
Audacter subiit, gentem turbando ferocem.
Utque labor talis non frustraretur amoris,
620 Ipse quidem gentem festinus adivit eandem,
Plebis non parva propriae comitante caterva;
Regalis pompae vario comptusque decore
Alpibus accinctas altis intraverat horas.

- His Beringarius compertis obstupefactus,
625 Non bellum movit, regi non obvius exit,
Sed se salvandum castello protinus apto
Intulit, in tutis posito firmisque locellis.
At rex famosus noster, virtute superbus,
Audacter satis ignotas pertransiit horas
530 Italici Papiam regni cepit quoque domnam.
Qua certe capta, cuncti velut agmine facto
Quaerentes regem proceres venire recentem
Certabantque suo iuri se subdere magno.
Quos nam more suo suscepit mente benigna,
635 Promittens ipsis eius munus pietatis,
Si post haec illi servirent mente fideli.

- Istis sic habitis, crebro tractamine cordis
Reginae satis egregiae memor est AEdelheithae,
Regalem certe cupiens quandoque videre
640 Ipsius faciem, cuius didicit bonitatem.
Unde quidem, mandatellis secretius actis,
Quae fuerant pacis necnon praedulcis amoris,
Sub signo fidei firmæ mandaverat illi,
Hoc quoque suadelis exhortabatur amicis,
645 Ut celeri Papiam cursu peteret, populosam
Urbem, quam cum tristitia dimisit amara,
Quo, praestante sacra regis pietate perennis,
Hic modo sublinem gaudens captaret honorem,
Quo prius ingentem fuerat, perpessa dolorem,
650 His mandatellis cessit regina benignis
Et, quo iussa fuit, pariter comitantibus ivit
Permultis subiectorum cuneis populorum.
Ut rex hoc sensit, cuius mandamine venit,
Ipsius Henricum fratrem praecepit amandum

615 King Otto became aware of this achievement from popular rumor, and with a gladsome heart he commended his loving son, who for his sake had undertaken so Herculean a task in assailing a savage nation. And in order that such a labor of love might not be in vain, he himself
620 moved hastily to that same nation with a goodly retinue of his own folk escorting him. Adorned with all the stateliness of royal splendor, he entered the regions girded by the lofty Alps.

625 Berengar was astounded upon hearing of these events; he neither set in motion the machinery of war nor went to meet the king, but straightway betook himself for safety to an appropriate citadel situated in a secure and strongly fortified place. But our renowned king, disdainful in his valor, very courageously crossed the
630 unfamiliar regions and seized Pavia, the capital city of the Italian Kingdom. When this town had been definitely occupied, all the chieftains, as if in military formation, trooped in, seeking the new king and vying with one another to submit to his great power. For he received them in his accustomed way with a kindly disposition, promising them the remuneration of his benevo-
635 lence, if thereafter they would serve him with loyal hearts.

Such was the turn of events; and with frequent ponderings of heart Otto remembered the distinguished Queen Adelaide, and longed to behold the queenly countenance
640 of her whose excellence of character he already knew.

Therefore he dispatched somewhat confidentially messages which included both tidings of peace and words of fond love, and under the pledge of assured protection urged her (making use at the same time of friendly per-
645 suasions) to set out speedily for Pavia, a populous city, which she had forsaken previously in bitter dejection. This he did so that, under the benign kindness of the Eternal King, she might experience the most distinguished honor in the very city in which she had once endured the deepest sorrow.

650 The queen yielded to these kindly injunctions and proceeded whither she was bidden with a very great multitude of her subjects likewise accompanying her. When the king, by whose order she was coming, had realized

- 655 Huius in occursum regredi trans litora Padi,
 Ut sublimandam regni splendoribus heram
 Tanti compositus ducis ornaret famulatus
 Qui, studio mentis praecepta sequens senioris,
 Egreditur certe cum regali legione
- 660 Castraque reginae gaudens petiit venerandae,
 In quis cum sociis residebat denique multis,
 Illam condigne summo comitatus honore,
 Donec regali praesentaret faciei.
 Quae merito regi statim placuit satis ipsi
- 665 Eligiturque sui consors dignissima regni.
- Tunc rex se novitate rei cernens retineri,
 Tempore ne patrias instante rediret ad oras,
 Liudulfum placuit carum praemittere natum,
 Ut gens Saxonum fortis volitaret ad illum
- 670 Et regnum sub patrono staret bene tanto.
 Qui, parens iussis devota mente parentis,
 Ad patriam rediit curam regnique recepit,
 Omnia prudenter necnon nimium sapienter
 Complens, in patria quae tunc fuerant facienda.
- 675 Interea dux Henricus, regis venerandus
 Frater, in Italia cordis conamine summo
 Obsequiis operam gessit regalibus aptam,
 Officium non germani solummodo cari,
 Sed mage ius servi studio complendo benigno.
- 680 Hinc non inmerito regi placuit satis ipsi,
 Est quoque reginae fraterno iunctus amore
 Affectuque pio fuerat dilectus ab illa.
 Tunc rex Italicum peragraverat undique regnum,
 Primates regni propriae subdens ditioni.
- 685 His quoque completis iuxta votumque locatis,
 Ne Beringarius regnum raperet sibi rursum,
 Conradum cum non paucis ex agmine lectis
 In Papia residere ducem iussit sapientem,
 Cui veneranda suae dederat consortia natae;
- 690 Ipseque continuo rediit cum coniuge clara,
 Intendens patriae sedem festinus adire.
 Quem gavisam quidem plebs suscepit venientem,

655 this, he instructed his loving brother, Henry, to cross
the banks of the Po to meet her, in order that a due
attendance from a great leader might pay homage to her
who was to be exalted to the splendor of alliance with
Otto. And Henry, obeying zealously the injunctions of
660 his elder brother, set out with a king's guard and joy-
fully directed his course to seek the encampment of the
revered queen in which she with many companions abode.
Until he could convey her to the King's presence, he
duly attended her with the utmost deference. Thereafter
she immediately--and rightly so--found favor with Otto
665 and was chosen to be the worthy help-mate of his empire.

Then the king, perceiving that he would be detained
by reason of the strange complexity of affairs and for a
time could not return to his native land, decided to
send his dear son Liudulf in advance so that the brave
race of the Saxons might rally to his side, and that
670 under so stalwart a protector the kingdom might stand
firm. And Liudulf, who obeyed the orders of his sire,
returned to his fatherland and assumed the administra-
tion of government. He fulfilled prudently and very
sagaciously all the duties of office which at that time
had to be accomplished in his native land.

675 Meanwhile, in Italy, Duke Henry, the esteemed brother
of the king, with the utmost endeavor of his heart per-
formed the tasks required of his obedience to the king,
of fulfilling in his kindly zeal not only his office as
a well loved brother, but rather the duty of a vassal to
680 his lord. Hence, he greatly pleased Otto himself and
bound in bonds of brotherly love to the queen also and
duly cherished by her.

Then the king traversed the whole of the Italian
Kingdom subjecting the chiefs of the realm to his own
685 sway. When he had completed these deeds and subdued the
lands according to his own desire, in order that Beren-
gar might not again seize the kingdom for himself, he
bade the wise Duke Conrad to dwell in Pavia with a num-
ber of picked troops from his army and he bade his dis-
tinguished daughter to be united in marriage with Con-
690 rad. He himself, with his illustrious wife, forthwith
returned home, moving with haste to the heart of his
native land. With deep joy did the populace welcome his
arrival, extending its ardent gratitude to God enthroned

Altithrono grates spargens super aethera dulces,
Qui, miserando suae plebis solita pietate,
695 Quem pius elegit, regem cum pace reduxit.

Haec ita laetitia dignis rebus celebrata,
Advenit dux Conradus cum pace reversus,
Adducens Beringarium supra memoratum
Ipsius ingenii captum sic arte profundi,
700 Gratis ut Ottoni venit se subdere regi.
Tunc idem rex, qui semper fecit sapienter,
Hunc regem certe digno suscepit honore,
Restituens illi sublatis culmina regni --
Ista percerte tantum sub conditione,
705 Ut post haec causis non contradiceret ullis
Ipsius imperio multis longe metuendo,
Sed ceu subiectus iussis esset studiosus;
Hoc quoque sollicitis decrevit maxime dictis,
Ut post haec populum regeret clementius ipsum,
710 Quem prius imperio nimium corripuit amaro.
Qui, se complendis simulans promptum fore iussis,
Ocius abscessit patriam laetusque petivit.
Ast ubi sublimem regni possederat arcem,
Iaesus suadelis quorundam namque sinistris,
715 Mox infelici graviora quidem iuga genti
Infert vi magna pro despectu sibi facto,
Se regnum pretio contestans emere magno
Nec fore culpandum, si ius fregisset avorum,
Sed magis Ottoni culpae meritum reputari,
720 Ipsi primates plebis qui venderet omnes.
Haec res ad regem mox ut pervenit eundem,
In Beringarium iusta succenditur ira,
Corde super populi damnis maerens miserandi,
In meliusque statum studiut convertere rerum.
725 Et faceret citius, Christi munimine fultus,
Si non fortunae restaret causa sinistrae.
Namque decore sui florente per omnia regni,
Cum se gauderet cunctis fulgere secundis,
Protulit antiqui renovata lues inimici
730 Fraudis commentum cunctis per saecula dolendum,
Iam tunc pacificum temptans confundere regnum;
Hoc ut quantocius posset patrare malignus,
Regni rectores primum turbaverat omnes,

on high, Who with His wonted beneficence had compassionated his people and had brought back in peace the
695 king whom in His goodness He had chosen for them. •

Now after these events had been joyfully celebrated, Duke Conrad arrived bringing terms of peace and conveying with him Berengar mentioned above, who had been so captivated by the depth of his profound wisdom that he
700 had come voluntarily to submit himself to King Otto. Otto, then, who always acted wisely, received this monarch with due respect, restoring to him the dominion of the realm of which he had been bereft--but only on this very exacting condition, that in future he would on no
705 grounds offer resistance to Otto's authority which was feared far and wide by many, but would as a vassal king be zealous to execute his commands. This, too, he prescribed most impressively, that thereafter Berengar should rule more mercifully his own subjects, over whom
710 he had previously tyrannized with harsh despotism. Berengar, feigning that he would be quick to comply with these terms, speedily departed and directed his course in joy to his native land. But when, corrupted by the adverse persuasions of certain of his retainers, he had regained possession of the lofty citadel of his own domain, he presently imposed a heavier yoke on his unfortunate nation, in return for the treatment that had been meted out to himself. He maintained that he had bought the hegemony at a great price, and that not he should be
715 blamed if he had infringed upon the law of his ancestors, but rather that the merit of the blame should redound to Otto himself, who had corrupted with bribes all the chieftains of the people. As soon as these matters
720 came to the ears of the king, he was aroused to a righteous anger against Berengar, and, in his grief of heart over the affliction of his distressed subjects, he yearned to ameliorate the state of the kingdom. And supported as he was by the strength of Christ, he could have done so quickly had not an event of adverse circumstances hindered him. For in the universal splendor of his realm, while he was rejoicing at being blessed with widespread favorable fortune, the recurrent plague
725 of the ancient foe reappeared, fabricating a crafty plan to be regretted throughout the ages and striving even at that time to disrupt the peaceful domain. In order that he might achieve his end the sooner, the envious enemy first made restless all the rulers of the realm, hoping

Sperans interitum plebis mox esse futurum.

- 735 Denique famosi natus regis Liudulfus,
Ut cognovit amicitiae signis satis aptis,
Quanto perfectae fidei dilexit amore
Henricum regis fratrem regina fidelis,
Quodque suae fidei studio se subdidit omni,
740 Tangitur interni iaculis secreto doloris,
Haut ira fervens, odii nec felle tabescens,
Sed super amisso carae genitricis amore
Ex aegri latebris ducens suspiria cordis;
Deceptusque malis permultorum suadelis,
745 Pertimuit fragilis pro consuetudine mentis,
Quod post non uti donis deberet honoris
Condigni, sed forte locum subire secundum.
(Quod fieri Christus numquam permetteret aequus,
Si staret regnum iusta sub pace quietum.)
750 Ast ubi subtristi vultu saepissime patri
Monstratur maestus, solito nec more serenus,
Sunt qui decepti serpentis fraude dolosi

* * *

* *

...Versus plurimi exciderunt...

- 1141 Sed quo regalem patris hinc augetur honorem.

- His rex compertis, ex prosperitate fidelis
Laetatus prolis, tota dulcedine mentis
Haec illi mandat scriptis extimplo remissis:
1145 'In saeculum saeculi maneat laus omnipotenti,
Qui dedit in tantis temet gaudere secundis,
Grates atque tibi dentur, karissime fili,
Quem constare quidem penitus cognosco fidelem,
Haut obscura tuae fidei quia signa dedisti,
1150 Cum per te regnum cupiens augescere nostrum
Signasti nobis proprii decus omne laboris.
Hinc ego gratanter, quae fecisti sapienter,
Accipiens, vice conversa condigna rependo

that presently the destruction of the populace would follow.

735 In fine, as Liudulf, the son of the renowned king, perceived through signs significant of friendship only the intense love amid perfect faithfulness the loyal queen entertained for Henry, brother of the king, and the fact that she governed herself by all the laws that
740 faithfulness would expect of her, he was pierced secretly by the shafts of inward grief, neither raging with anger, nor languishing in the bitterness of hatred, but heaving sighs from the depth of his sorrow-laden heart over the loss of his dear mother's love. Deluded by the
745 wicked persuasions of many, as might be expected from his frail nature, he was afraid that thereafter he would not be destined to enjoy the return of the honors due him but would perhaps have to submit to second place. (But Christ in His justice would never have allowed this to happen, if the kingdom had remained tranquil under a just peace.)

750 But when he had repeatedly displayed to his father his sadness through a mournful countenance with nothing of its wonted serenity, there were some who were beguiled by the machinations of the wily serpent and who...

...Many verses have been lost...
(Verses 752-1141)

1141 ...but in order that he might increase the royal prestige of his father.

When the king became aware of this state of affairs, he rejoiced because of the good fortune of his devoted son, and with all the fond affection of his heart he forthwith dispatched tidings to him, with the following
1145 message: "May praise endure for ever and ever to the Almighty, Who hath granted thee to rejoice amid great blessings; and let thanks be tendered thee, most beloved son, who, indeed, I learn hast remained absolutely loyal, since thou hast given clear indications of thy
1150 loyalty, when by thine own efforts to extend our sovereignty, thou hast confirmed for us the whole glory of thine own exertions. Therefore, accepting gratefully what thou hast done wisely, I in turn requite thee with a worthy interchange, and to thee I entrust the rule of

- Hoc ipsumque tibi regnum committo regendum,
 1155 Imperio subdi nostro quod constituisti;
 Praecipioque tibi iussis, dilecte, paternis,
 Ut, quem victrici populum dextra superasti,
 Absque mora tecum facias firmare tenendum
 Foedus, cum iuramento structum metuendo.'
 1160 Haec dux Liudulfus decreta legens venerandus,
 Laetior ex mandatelis tantae pietatis,
 Iussus cum iuramento religat sibi firmo
 Ad patris obsequium populum digne moderandum.

- His bene dispositis, summo cum foedere pacis
 1165 Ardens absentis faciem meruisse parentis,
 Coniugis et karae dulci devictus amore
 Ac prolis geminae longe pos terga relictae,
 Posthabitaefines patriae placuit repedare,
 Quo post exilii pondus nimium grave duri
 1170 Posset quandoquidem patriae captare quietem.
 Utque celer morulis haec impleret sine cunctis,
 Non iter optatum pondus tardaverit ullum,
 Collectim proprias iussit praemittere gazas,
 Ipsius et faciem turbam praecedere totam,
 1175 Quam belli causa secum deduxerat illo,
 Promittens ipsum, vita comitante, futurum
 Ad fines patriae spatii post tempora parvi.
 Hoc quoque melliflui verbis signaverat oris,
 In quis castellis, in quis voluitque locellis
 1180 Sumptus hospitii dignos sibimet reparari.
 Hac moti fama nostrates desiderata,
 Affectu cordis gaudebant interioris;
 Omneque maeroris pondus cunctique doloris,
 Quod prius absentis causa tulerant senioris,
 1185 Ex animo deponentes, communiter omnes
 Causam laetitiae duxerunt esse supremae,
 Si post paucorum meruissent ergo dierum
 Cursus, promissi iuxta praeconia laeti

* * *

* *

...Versus plurimi exciderunt...

- Aequae ferens sceptrum, capitis diademaque pulchrum
 1480 Atque sui cultus omnes regalis amictus.
 Ornatus sed maioris suscepit honoris
 Augusto summo pariter mox conbenedicta.

1155 this very dominion, which thou hast established to be
brought under our sway. And I admonish thee, beloved
one, with fatherly counsels, to cause without delay the
nation which thou hast conquered by thy victorious hand
1160 to strike with thee a treaty sanctioned by dreadful
oath". The esteemed Duke Liudulf upon reading this mes-
sage was quite happy because of such kind injunctions
and, in accordance with the command given him, he bound
to himself with a strong oath the nation that was to be
duly governed in obedience to his father.

1165 When these matters had been well disposed of and an
excellent treaty arranged, he yearned to gain sight of
his absent sire; and, overcome by tender love for his
dear spouse and the two children left far behind, he
decided to turn back to the borders of the neglected
fatherland he had left, in order that there, after the
1170 excessively heavy burden of a cruel exile, he might en-
joy at last the tranquility of his native land. And
that he might accomplish this end speedily without any
delays, he suffered no baggage to retard his intended
journey; his treasures he ordered to be gathered and
1175 sent in advance of him, and the entire force which he
had brought thither with him for the sake of war, to
precede him, promising that he himself, if he but lived,
would in a brief space of time be at the bounds of his
homeland. This, too, he indicated with honied utter-
ance; namely, the castles and abodes in which he wished
1180 preparations worthy of his entertainment to be made
ready. Our countrymen, roused by this welcome report,
rejoiced with deep affection of heart. Dispelling from
their souls the whole weight of sorrow and of grief
which heretofore they had endured because of the ab-
1185 sence of their honored prince, they all unanimously
agreed that the occasion was one for heartiest rejoic-
ing, if after the course of a few days they were accord-
ing to the message of gladsome promise to gain...

...Many verses have been lost...
(Verses 1118-1479)

...in like manner bearing the sceptre and wearing the
beautiful diadem upon her head and clad in all the mag-
nificence of her royal apparel. But she who, together
with the sovereign king, was soon blessed, received dis-
tinction of even greater honor.

- Actenus Oddonis famosi denique regis
 Gesta, licet tenui Musa, cecini modulando.
- 1485 Nunc scribenda quidem constant, quae fecerat idem
 Augustus solium retinens in vertice rerum. --
 Tangere quae vereor, quia femineo prohibebor
 Sexu, nec vili debent sermone revolvi:
 Qualiter invicti duro luctamine belli
- 1490 Obtinuit constructa locis castella marinis,
 Quae Beringarius coniunx possedit et eius,
 Ac illum, iuramento cogente peracto,
 Misit in exilium misera cum coniuge Willa;
 Qualiter et recti conpunctus acumine zeli
- 1495 Summum pontificem, quaedam perversa patrantem
 Eius nec monitis dignantem cedere crebris,
 Sedis apostolicae fraudari fecit honore,
 Constituens alium rectoris nomine dignum;
 Qualiter et regno tranquilla pace quieto
- 1500 Nostrates adiens, illic iterumque revertens,
 Necnon amborum retinens decus imperiorum,
 Ipsius prolem post illum iam venientem,
 Scilicet Oddonem, nutricis ab ubere regem,
 Ad fasces augustalis provexit honoris
- 1505 Exemploque sui digne fecit benedici;
 Haec igitur nostris nequeunt exponier orsis,
 Sed quaerunt seriem longe sibi nobiliorem.
 Hinc ego, tantarum prohibente gravedine rerum,
 Ultra non tendo, finem sed provide pono,
- 1510 Post haec incepto ne succumbam male victa.

His ita finitis et summatim replicatis,
 Est ingens regis pietas oranda perennis,
 Quo pius augustos praestet deducere nostros
 Instantis vitae tempus feliciter omne,

1515 Et, fultos semper cunctis ad vota secundis,
 Ecclesiae multos custodes servet in annos,
 Nobis solamen dantes clementius. *Amen.*

Although but a poor Muse, I have up to now chanted in
verse the achievements of the far-famed Otto. Now there
1485 remain to be recorded further deeds of this same monarch,
who retains his throne in the zenith of his power, --this
I fear to treat because I am withheld by my womanly
nature, nor ought these matters be rehearsed in homely
discourse: how, namely, in the cruel struggle of an un-
1490 remitting war he gained the fortresses built at the sea-
shore which Berengar and his wife had possessed, and how,
under the compulsion of oath, he sent him with his
wretched spouse, Willa, into exile; how, prompted by the
sense of righteous zeal, he caused the supreme Pontiff,
1495 who was perpetrating certain irregular acts and disdain-
ing to heed his frequent admonitions, to be deprived of
the dignity of the Chair of the Apostle, adjudging ano-
ther worthy of the name of ruler; and how, passing in un-
1500 disturbed peace with his kingship undisturbed, to our
country and returning again to Italy, and retaining the
glory of both kingdoms, he raised his son, who came after
him, namely Otto, a king from infancy, to the highest of-
1505 fices of hallowed nobility, and by his own example caused
him to be duly blessed. These matters, then, cannot be
recounted in our verses, since they require for them-
selves a far more eloquent account. Hence I, hindered by
the weightiness of these great themes, proceed no fur-
1510 ther, but prudently make an end, lest hereafter I be
shamefully overcome and fail in my attempt.

Now that my recital has been completed and its story
cursorily recounted, I must invoke the great goodness of
the Eternal King that He in His kindness may grant our
sovereigns to prolong happily the whole span of life
1515 still remaining, and that He may protect the custodians
of Holy Church for many years, supported always in all
matters favorable to their prayers, thereby granting unto
us a more merciful consolation. *Amen.*

PRIMORDIA COENOBII GANDESEMENSIS

- Ecce meae supplex humilis devotio mentis
Gliscit, felicitis primordia Gandeshemensis
Pandere coenobii, quod cura non pigritanti
Construxere duces Saxonum iure potentes,
5 Liudulfus magnus clarus quoque filius eius
Oddo, qui coeptum perfecit opus memoratum.

-o-

- Ordo nunc rerum deprecatur debitus harum,
Ut prius illustris constructio Gandeshemensis
Apto coenobii recinatur carmine nostri.
Quod nam construxisse ducem reverenter eundem
5 Constat Saxonum, quem praedixi, Liudulfum.
Hic, praenobilium natus de stirpe parentum
Ortus atque sui respondens nobilitati
Moribus egregiis usque suae probitatis,
Inter Saxones crevit laudabilis omnes;
10 Namque fuit strenuus, forma nimiumque decorus
Prudens in verbis, in cunctis cautus agendis,
Atque sui generis solus spes et decus omnis.
Hinc nam Francorum magni regis Hludowici
Militiae primis adscriptus paene sub annis,
15 Ex ipso digne summo sublatus honore,
Gentis Saxonum mox suscepit comitatum;
Ac cito maioris donatus munere iuris,
Principibus fit par, ducibus sed nec fuit impar,
Quique suos omnes vicit pietate parentes,
20 Non minus insignis pompa vincebat honoris.

- Cui coniunx ergo fuerat praenobilis Oda,
Edita Francorum clara de stirpe potentum,
Filia Billungi, cuiusdam principis almi,
Atque bonae famae generosae scilicet Aedae.
25 Haec igitur crebro precibus consueverat Aeda
Se totamque suam domino committere vitam,
Saepius atque piis insistens sedula factis
Promeruit, bene promissis edocta supernis,
Discere, baptista Christi referente beato,
30 Quod sua progenies saeculis quandoque futuris
Possessura foret iuris decus imperialis.

Ergo nocturnas quondam scindente tenebras
Aurora lucis splendore suae rutilantis,

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONASTERY OF GANDERSHEIM

Behold, the suppliant devotion of my humble heart ardently longs to recount the establishment of the blessed monastery of Gandersheim, which the chieftains of the Saxons, mighty in justice, erected with energetic solicitude, the great and illustrious Liudulf and also his son, Otto, who completed the work that had been begun.

-0-

Due order in this account now demands that the earlier erection of our renowned monastery of Gandersheim be recounted in a fitting poem. For it is agreed that this Liudulf, ruler of the Saxons, whom I mentioned before, built it with all due respect. A son born of very noble lineage, corresponding to the nobility of his birth in the exemplary ways of his own virtue, he grew in distinction among all the Saxons. For he was of splendid physique and exceedingly handsome in appearance, wise in speech, prudent in all his actions, and the sole hope and the whole splendor of his race. For almost from his earliest years he was enlisted in the military service of the great Louis, king of the Franks, and was by him elevated to distinguished honors; presently he received the rank of count of the race of the Saxons; and speedily he was invested with remunerations of greater jurisdiction becoming equal to princes and not inferior to those of ducal rank. And as he surpassed all his ancestors in holiness, no less did he outshine them in the magnificence of his honored rank.

His wife, the distinguished Oda, was descended from a famous line of the mighty Franks, the daughter of Billung, a kindly ruler, and of Aeda, a lady of excellence and of fair repute. Now this Aeda was frequently accustomed to resign herself and her whole life to the Lord in prayer, and very often in the zeal of her saintly deeds, well versed as she was in divine assurances, she merited to learn through the revelation of the Holy Baptist of Christ, the fact that her posterity at some time in future ages would achieve the lustre of imperial authority.

Once, then, when dawn was piercing the nocturnal darkness with the brilliancy of its own ruddy shafts, she lay

- Haec prostrata sacram solito iacuit secus aram
 35 Sacratam sub baptistae Iohannis honore,
 Oratu pulsando iugi penetralia caeli.
 Cumque piam studiis mentem laxavit in illis,
 Vidit prona pedes hominis propius sibi stantis;
 Ac, commota parum,olvebat pectore multum,
 40 Quis foret ille, suum qui conturbare secretum
 Praesumpsisset in hac hora precibus satis apta.
 Fronteque de terra, modicum conversa, levato
 Aspexit iuvenem mire splendore micantem,
 Indutum vestis velamine flavicomantis,
 45 Ceu foret e pilis curvi contexta cameli;
 Cuius candori nimio pulchrae faciei
 Barbula parva, nigris sociata colore capillis,
 Quoddam splendentis praestabat stemma nitoris.
 Quem matrona videns nec mortalem fore credens,
 50 Obstupuit mentis iuxta morem muliebris,
 Procumbens subito magno terrore coacta.
 Ille sed affatu blando trepidam refovendo
 Inquit: 'Ne trepides nec perturbata pavescas;
 Sed cognosce, gravis pulso terrore timoris,
 55 Quis sim: magna tibi portans solamina veni.
 Nam sum Iohannes, liquidis qui tingere lymphis
 Christum promerui. Quia nos crebro coluisti,
 Nuntio, virginibus sacris tua clara propago
 Instituet claustrum, pacem regnique triumphum,
 60 Dum sua religio studio steterit bene firmo.
 Hinc tuae progenies saeculis quandoque futuris
 Culmine pollentis tanto clarescet honoris,
 Ut terrenorum nullus tunc tempore regum
 Iure potentatus illi valeat similari.'
 65 Dixerat, et subito rediens penetraverat aethra,
 Linquens matronae solamen dulce benignae.
 Illius magnifice decoris promissio grandis
 Progeniem domnae claram specialiter Odae
 Signavit: de qua natus dux inclitus Otto
 70 Scepbris Henricum regem genuit satis aptum;
 Qui pater augusti fuit Oddonis venerandi,
 Eius, qui, regis fultus virtute perennis,
 Postquam Saxonum rexit patris vice regnum,
 Nutu divino benedictus namque secundo,
 75 Imperii sedem Romani dignus eandem
 Ac sceptrum iuris susceperat imperialis,
 Aequivocumque sui natum pariter benedictum,
 Disponente pia regis bonitate perennis,
 Imperii sedem conscendere fecit eandem

prostrate in her wonted fashion before the holy altar
35 dedicated to the honor of Saint John the Baptist, assail-
ing with prayer the deep recesses of Heaven above. And
when she had poured out her soul in these fervent devo-
tions, she saw, as she lay prone there, the feet of a man
40 standing close beside her. Greatly perturbed she pon-
dered much in heart as to who he could be who had pre-
sumed to disturb her seclusion in this hour so well
suited for prayer. And raising her countenance from the
ground and turning a little the while, she saw a youth
45 flaxen-hair, as if clothed with the hair of a dromedary.
On his wondrously bright and comely countenance a small
beard harmonized in color with his black hair which af-
forded a crown of resplendent radiance. The queen, see-
ing him and not believing that he could be mortal, was
50 dumbfounded and following the way of womankind fainted
away under the sudden compulsion of great fright. But he
allayed her consternation with kindly address and said,
"Do not be affrighted, nor be distressed and terrified;
but put aside the weight of thy fears and learn who I
55 am: I come to thee bringing great consolation. For I am
the John who was deemed worthy to baptize Christ with the
flowing waters. Since thou hast frequently revered
me, I announce that thy famous progeny will establish a
60 cloister for saintly maidens and a triumphant peace for
his realm, provided his piety remain duly steadfast.
Hence, thy posterity at some time in future ages will
come to such a pinnacle of fame that no sovereign among
earthly rulers will avail to be a rival thereto in right
of power".

65 And when he had said this he immediately withdrew into
Heaven's height, leaving tender solace in the heart of
the benevolent lady. The majestic promise of this sub-
lime honor designated especially the renowned offspring
of Lady Oda: her son it was, the illustrious Duke Otto, who
70 begot king Henry, a monarch so well suited to rule. He,
who was the father of the revered and kingly Otto, of
him, namely, who, supported by the strength of the Eter-
nal King, after assuming the rule of the Saxons in his
father's place, had, under the benign blessing of the
75 Will of God, worthily received the same throne of the
Roman Empire and the administration of imperial power,
caused his son (who bore the same name and was equally as
himself), under the disposing goodness of the Eternal

80 Atque pari similis splendore frui ditionis.
Haec igitur modici demonstrat pagina libri
Plenius, e causis rerum quem scripsimus harum.

Nunc ad opus coeptum devote perficiendum
Est convertendus stilus noster studiosus. --
85 Ast ubi Liudulfo fuerat venerabilis Oda
Foedere legali coniuncta, suo seniori,
Inter nostrates celebris profecerat omnes
Moribus et factis, callem gradiens pietatis;
Exemploque suae vivens matris venerandae,
90 Se totam domino commendabat prece sacra,
Corde tenens matris monitum claustrum faciendi.
Hinc nam legalem non raro sui seniore
Exhortabatur blandis nimium suadelis,
Ut de gazarum construxisset propriarum
95 Sumptu coenobium divinis laudibus aptum,
In quo sacrandae domino velamine sacro
Finetenus castae possent habitare puellae
Atque vacare sui sancti famulamine sponsi.
His ergo monitis vir concedendo fidelis
100 Coniugis electae precibus consenserat apte;
Ac sic communi similis conamine voti
Deservire deo coeperunt protinus ambo.

Quis fuit ecclesiae possessione denique parvae
Trans ripas Candae supra montana locatae,
105 Unde locum celebrem vocitabant Gandeshemensem.
Illic, obsequio domini digne celebrando
Dum locus investigari posset magis aptus,
Communi multas vita iunxere puellas;
Atque sui natam decreverunt Hathumodam
110 His habitu similem fieri sociamque perennem.
Utque puellaris rector fore posset ovilis,
Primitus hanc ipsam reverenter ad instituendam
Tradebant abbatiscae cuidam venerandae,
Quae, praelatarum vice succedendo priorum,
115 Tunc Herifordensem sortita fuit sibi sedem.
Tali divinum meditati sunt famulatum
Nisu Liudulfus coniunx insignis et eius.

Post haec acceptis proprii scriptis senioris,
Scilicet almifici regisque pii Hludowici,
120 Eius permissu cum non modico comitatu
Romam pergebant sanctique patris visitabant
Sedem muneribus dignis precibusque benignis,
Ipsius auxilio deposcentes sua vota
Iuxta velle dei sese persolvere posse.

80 King to mount the same throne of empire and to enjoy a like splendor of dominion. A page, therefore, of our simple book which we have written regarding the reasons of these occurrences illustrates more fully these facts.

85 Now our zealous pen must be turned to the accomplishment of the task dutifully begun.-- But when the revered Oda had been united in lawful wedlock to Liudulf, she, treading the path of holiness, advanced in the fame of integrity and in deeds among all our countrymen. And living in accordance with the example of her saintly mother, she commended herself entirely to the Lord in fervent prayer, retaining in her heart the admonition of her mother to build a convent. For she frequently in loving and persuasive speech urged her lawful husband to erect a monastery suitable for divine praises of God from the wealth of their own treasures, so that in it chaste maidens consecrated to the Lord by the holy veil could dwell and be free for the service of their Divine Spouse. Her faithful husband, then, yielding to these counsels
100 duly complied with the petitions of his chosen wife. Thus by the joint endeavor of like purpose they both began straightway to serve God.

They held possession of a small church situated on top of a mountain across the banks of the Ganda, and from
105 this they named the celebrated spot Candersheim. There, worthily paying homage to the Lord until a place better suited could be found, they united many maidens in community life, and they destined their own daughter, Hathumoda, to become like unto these in mode of living and their lifelong companion. And in order that she could be the first superioress of the convent of young maidens, they first reverently consigned her for instruction to a certain holy abbess, who, succeeding in turn to her predecessors, had obtained as her portion the Herford Convent. With such effort did Liudulf and his eminent wife
115 plan their service to God.

After this, upon receiving the written approvals of their superior, namely, the benign and saintly King
120 Louis, with his permission and a considerable retinue, they proceeded to Rome and approached the throne of the Holy Father. With worthy offerings and kindly entreaties they urged that with his support they would be able to fulfill their vows in accordance with the will of God.

- 125 Isdem temporibus possedit papa beatus
Sergius ecclesiae primatum namque regendae.
Hic ubi perlegit cartas regis sibi missas,
Sensit honore ducem summo dignum venientem;
Et perquirendo causam, qua venerat illo,
130 Affatu miti blandum se praebuit illi.
Quem ceu pontificem summum merito venerandum
Exorans dux Liudulfus cum coniuge pronus,
Utitur his verbis tota dulcedine mixtis:
'Inclite papa, tuis ne sis durus peregrinis,
135 Qui de longinquis terrarum venimus oris
Muneribus nostri famulatus te venerari.
Nitimur ardentis toto conamine mentis
Condere coenobium domini sub honore sacrandum;
Unde quidem visum nobis est maxime iustum,
140 A te consilii solamen quaerere certi
Et studium nostri tibi rite precando fateri,
Qui caput ecclesiae toto dominaris in orbe;
Quo, si forte tibi placeat devotio nostri,
Auxilium praebente tua pietate paterna,
145 Quod votis gerimus, factis bene perficiamus.
Ac tu, consilium cuius merito flagitamus,
Susceptis donis clementi pectore nostris,
Scilicet et regis compulsus amore perennis,
Praesta sanctorum nobis sacra pignora, quorum
150 Omnis coenobii constructio possit honori
Apte signari sacris meritisque tueri.
Utque sit absque iugo regum per saecula potentum
Nec terrenorum patiatur vim dominorum,
Hoc rectoris apostolici solum ditioni
155 Tradimus ad defendendum pariterque regendum.'
Haec dux. At summus praesul sic Sergius orsus
Inquit: 'Te miti complector pectore, fili,
Consortemque tuam pariter complector amandam,
Atque piis studiis gaudens congaudeo vestris,
160 Nec vobis credo fas esse negare petita.
Hic duo rectores fuerant aliquando potentes,
Praesul Anastasius sedis sanctissimus huius
Et coapostolicus sacer Innocentius eius,
Qui post pastorem Petrum Paulumque magistrum
165 Ecclesiae meritis celebres fulsere supremis;
Quorum tam magna servantur corpora cura
Hactenus a cunctis huius rectoribus urbis,
Ut nec particulam quisquam subtraxerat umquam,
Pleno membrorum numero remanente sacrorum
170 Sed quia iure piis concedere debeo votis,
Amborum vobis donabo pignora gratis,

125 Now at this time the blessed Pope Sergius held the pri-
 macy of the Church. When he had perused the letter the
 king had sent to him, he realized that a ruler worthy of
 the highest honors was coming to his abode. And after
 130 inquiring the reason for his coming he presented himself
 with kindly address to his visitor. Before him as Su-
 preme Pontiff, deservedly revered, Duke Liudulf, pros-
 trate with his wife, directed words of supplication ming-
 ling them with all tenderness: "Esteemed Father, do not
 135 be austere to us, thy guests from afar, who have come
 from the remote corners of the earth to pay homage to
 thee with the gifts of our fealty. With all the energy
 of zealous hearts, we are striving to found a monastery
 devoted to the service of God. Therefore, indeed, it
 140 seemed especially fitting for us to beg from thee the
 solace of a definite plan and by due entreaty to profess
 our zeal to thee, who as the head of the Church have do-
 minion throughout the whole world. Thus, if our devoted-
 ness chance to be pleasing to thee, we shall, with the
 145 help thy paternal goodness provides, happily accomplish
 in deed what we are urging in our prayers. And do thou,
 whose counsel we rightly importune, receiving with com-
 passionate heart our offerings and responding to the love
 of the Eternal King, grant us the sacred remains of
 150 saints that in their honor the whole erection of the
 monastery may be fittingly designated and by whose bless-
 ed merits safeguarded. And that it may be free from the
 yoke of mighty rulers of this world and may not suffer
 the violence of earthly lords, we consign it to the
 155 authority of the Apostolic Ruler alone for protection and
 likewise for government". Thus the Duke spoke. But the
 Supreme Bishop Sergius replied as follows: "Son, I em-
 brace thee with a kindly heart, and I embrace as well thy
 spouse, who is equally worthy of affection, and in happi-
 160 ness I rejoice at thy holy zeal, and I believe it wrong
 to refuse thy petitions. Here at one time there were two
 mighty shepherds, Anastasius, the most holy Bishop of
 this throne, and his co-apostle, the sacred Innocent,
 they were conspicuous for their pre-eminent services to
 the Church, second only to the Shepherd Peter and the
 165 Teacher Paul. Their bodies until now have been safe-
 guarded with such zealous care by all the rulers of this
 city that no man has taken the tiniest particle from
 them, and they remain altogether intact. But in as much
 as I ought rightly to comply with thy pious prayers, I
 shall freely impart to thee relics of both of them,

- Corporibus sacris abscisa patenter ab ipsis,
 Si sacramento confirmatis mihi facto,
 Haec in coenobii venerari iam memorati
- 175 Finetenus templo vestri munimine facto,
 Nocte dieque sacris illic resonantibus hymnis
 Necnon accenso praeclaro lumine semper;
 Hoc et apostolici iuris, sicut et petiistis,
 Coenobium nostri designamus ditioni.
- 180 Ut terrenorum sit securum dominorum.
 His dux promissis laetatus corde verendis,
 Mandatis se pontificis summi fore sacris
 Mox responsurum factis, inquit, studiosis,
 Qui foret ecclesia dignus mox aedificanda.
- 185 Ut fert multorum sententia vera scientum,
 Proxima coenobio fuerat tunc silvula, cincta
 Collibus umbrosis, quibus et nos cingimur ipsis;
 Necnon in silva fuerat sita parvula villa,
 In qua Liudulfi soliti stabulare subulci
- 190 Intra saepta viri cuiusdam lassa quieti
 Corpora nocturnis sua composuere sub horis,
 Dum sibi commissos debebant pascere porcos.
 Hic quondam, cum sanctorum venerabile festum
 Esset cunctorum mox post biduum celebrandum,
- 195 Sub noctis claras tenebris ardere lucernas
 In silva multas ipsi videre subulci.
 His visis, cuncti mirabantur stupefacti,
 Quid nova splendentis vellet sibi visio lucis,
 Miro nocturnas scindens splendore tenebras;
- 200 Hoc que domus patri narraverunt tremefacti,
 Demonstrando locum, quem lux perfuderat, ipsum.
 Qui visu clare cupiens audita probare,
 Extra tecta domus illis habitans sociatus
 Insomnem coepit noctem servare sequentem,
- 205 Non claudens oculos somno suadente gravatos,
 Donec accensas rursum rutilare lucernas
 Aucto vincentes numero videre priores
 Ipso quippe loco, sed prisca, qua prius, hora.
 Ominis hoc signum felicitis namque serenum,
- 210 Ut Phoebus radios spargebat ab aethere primos,
 Fit notum, fama cunctis prodente iocunda;
 Nec latuisse ducem dignum potuit Liudulfum,
 Aures sed citius dicto pulsaverat eius.
 Ipseque sacrata festi mox nocte futuri,
- 215 Observans caute, si quicquam postea tale

removed in thy presence from their own bodies, if, upon
solemn oath, thou assure me that these relics will be
perpetually venerated in a chapel of the aforesaid monas-
175 tery reared by your munificence, with the swelling of
sacred hymns there night and day and with the constant
illumination of a bright lighted taper. This monastery
we consign, as thou hast requested, to the control of
our apostolic authority, that it may be secure from the
180 domination of earthly sovereigns".

The Duke, joyous in heart at these venerable promises,
affirmed that he would soon comply, with zealous acts, to
the saintly injunctions of the Supreme Pontiff, that he
might be worthy of presently building the holy structure.

185 As the true view of many of those who know, claim,
there was at that time a small forest near the monastery,
surrounded by shady hills, the very ones by which we are
ourselves now surrounded; and in the forest there was a
small cottage in which the swineherds of Liudulf were
190 wont to find shelter and in the enclosure of which the
men rested their wearied limbs for the hours of night
during their duty of caring for the swine entrusted to
them. Here, on one occasion when the holy feast of All
Saints was to be celebrated two days later, these very
195 swineherds saw in the forest many light gleaming bright-
ly in the darkness of the night. All were astounded at
beholding them and wondered what the strange spectacle of
resplendent light, piercing the nocturnal darkness with
wondrous brilliance, signified. And they in alarm re-
200 lated to the lord of the house what had occurred, point-
ing out the very place which the brightness had illumi-
nated. As he was eager to verify with his own eyes what
he had definitely heard, he joined them out of doors and
205 began to keep vigil upon the following night. He did not
close his eyes, heavy though they were with persuasive
sleep, until they (swineherds) saw again the kindled
lights glowing and surpassing in increased number the
earlier ones, again in the same place, but at an earlier
210 hour than previously. Now as Phoebus diffused his first
rays from heaven's ether, this calm symbol of a happy
omen became known, joyous rumor betraying it to all. And
it could not remain concealed from the worthy Liudulf,
but struck his ears more quickly than one could tell.
And he himself, on the holy vigil of the imminent mor-
215 row's feast, noting carefully whether the vision would

- Caelitus ostensi monstraret visio signi,
 Cum multis silvam pernox conspexerat ipsam.
 Nec mora, cum nebula terras nox texerat atra,
 Undique silvestris per gyrum denique vallis,
 220 In qua fundandum fuerat praenobile templum,
 Ordine disposito cernuntur lumina plura;
 Quae simul arboreas umbras noctisque tenebras
 Clare pollentis scindebant luce nitoris.
 Hinc simul astantes, domino laudem referentes,
 225 Omnes esse locum firmabant sanctificandum
 Eius ad obsequium, qui luce repleverat illum.
 227 At dux, caelesti non ingratus pietati,
 229 Consensuque suae dilectae coniugis Odae,
 228 Arboribus mox succisis spinisque resectis
 230 Omnino vallem mundari iussit eandem;
 Silvestremque locum, Faunis monstrisque repletum,
 Fecit mundatum divinis laudibus aptum.
 Hinc, quos poscit opus, prius acquirens sibi sumptus,
 Protinus ecclesiae construxit moenia pulchrae
 235 Quae splendor lucis designavit rutilantis.
 Hac igitur causa fuerat iam coepta secundo
 Coenobii sub honore dei constructio nostri.
 Interea lapides structurae convenientes
 Non potuere locis nancisci prorsus in illis;
 240 Unde moram templi patitur perfectio coepti.
 Abbatissa sed a domino sperans Hathumoda
 Impetrare fide credentes omnia posse,
 Frangebat sese nimio persaepe labore,
 Nocte dieque deo sacris studiis famulando;
 245 Et, subiectarum multis illi sociatis,
 Caelitus auxilii petiit solamina ferri,
 Ne non perfectum remaneret opus bene coeptum.
 Nec mora, caelestem, quam quaerebat, pietatem
 Sensit adesse sui votis promptam misereri.
 250 Nam, ieiunando sacris precibusque vacando
 Cum prostrata die quadam iacuit secus aram,
 Vocis mansuetae <monitis compellitur ire>
 Atque sequi volucrum, quem iam progressa sedentem
 Cerneret in saxi cuiusdam vertice magni.
 255 Ipsaque, compectens animo praecepta parato,
 Egreditur, dictis credens ex corde iubentis;
 Ac, cementariis secum sumptis bene gnaris,
 Perrexit citius, quo duxit spiritus almus,
 Donec ad coeptum pervenit nobile templum.
 260 Illic candidulam vidit residere columbam

thereafter reveal any manifest sign from heaven, watched with many companions the self-same forest during the whole night. Nor had he long to wait; for when night had shrouded the earth with black clouds, on all sides within the circuit of the woody vale in which the renowned church was to be established, innumerable lights were to be perceived in orderly array. And they rent the leafy shades and the darkness of the night with the dazzling radiance of their gleaming splendor. Thereupon at once, all those who were present returned thanks to the Lord and asserted that the place must be dedicated to the service of Him who had filled it with light. Accordingly the Duke, grateful for the kindness of Heaven, and with the approval of his beloved wife Oda, gave orders that the vale should be entirely cleared, and that its trees should be cut down and its underbrush removed. And he made the wooded spot, filled with fauns and monsters, clean, appropriate for the divine praises. There, after procuring previously the funds which the work required, he straightway built the walls of the beautiful church which the radiance of the glowing lights had indicated. For this reason, therefore, the construction of our monastery was presently begun under the favoring protection of God. Meanwhile, stones suitable for building could not be obtained at all in these localities; therefore, there ensued a delay in the completion of the church. But the Abbess Hathumoda, in the hope that those who truly believed could obtain from the Lord all things by faith, wearied herself many a time with excessive rigor, serving God night and day with holy ardor. Many of her subordinates associated themselves with her, while she begged that the solace of heavenly assistance should be vouchsafed, in order that the work so well begun might not remain unfinished. Nor was it long before she perceived that the heavenly support which she was seeking was at hand, quick to commiserate her prayers. For she gave herself over to fasting and sacred prayers; and, when one day she lay prostrate before the altar, she was impelled by the exhortations of a pleasant voice to rise and follow a bird which, as she presently moved forward, she beheld perched on the pinnacle of a large rock. She herself embraced with ready spirit the commands and set forth, with full confidence of heart in the words of Him who was bidding her go. Taking with her skilled stone cutters, she proceeded rapidly whither the Holy Spirit led, until she arrived at the site of the notable temple

- In designati praeclso vertice saxi.
 Quae mox expansis volitans praecesserat alis,
 Temperat atque suum non sueto more volatum,
 Posset ut aereos directo tramite sulcos
- 265 Cum sociis gradiendo sequi virguncula Christi.
 Cumque columba locum volitans venisset ad illum,
 Quem nunc non sterilem magnis scimus fore petris,
 Descendens terram rostro percusserat illam,
 Sub cuius lapides latuerunt aggere plures.
- 270 Quo certe viso Christi dignissima virgo
 Emundare locum socios praeceperat ipsum
 Tellurisque gravem fodiendo scindere molem.
 Quo facto, praestante pia bonitate superna,
 Copia magnarum monstratur multa petrarum,
- 275 Unde monasterii cum templo moenia coepti
 Omnia materiam possent traxisse petrinam.
 Hinc magis atque magis toto conamine mentis
 Factores templi domini sub honore sacrandi
 Instabant operi mox nocte dieque recenti.
- 280 Sed dux Liudulfus, primus qui conditor eius
 Extitit et cura cuius processit origo
 Omnis structurae, precibus poscentibus Odae,
 (Pro dolor) ad summum non duxit opus studiosum,
 Sed, naturalis saeva tactus nece mortis,
- 285 Cogitur ante suum factori reddere flatum,
 Quam perfecta domus domini foret inclita prorsus;
 Commisitque suae carae moriendo relictae
 Atque suis natis, ducibus supra memoratis,
 Totius instantis pondus curamque laboris,
- 290 Exorans votis, ut complerent, studiosis,
 Omnem coenobii structuram perficiendi.
 Cuius in antiquo corpus venerabile templo
 Tunc gremio terrae commendatum fuit apte:
 Ossa sed annorum post decursus aliquorum
- 295 Sunt hinc ecclesia translata locanda novella.
 Forsan ad hoc illum mundo deus abstulit isto,
 Dum vix aetatis febres tetigit mediocris,
 Illustris domnae post haec ut plenius Odae
 Mens, intenta deo, posset tractare superna
- 300 Expers carnalis totius prorsus amoris.
 Nec tamen auxilii solamen denegat illi,
 Sed praestabat opem solita pietate recentem,
 Qua suffulta suas posset ditescere nonnas
 Omnibus his rebus, noster quibus indiget usus.

now begun. There she saw the white dove nestling on the lofty apex of the stone already mentioned. Presently it spread its wings and led the way, slowing its flight in its wonted fashion, in order that the spouse of Christ, walking with her companions, might be able to follow its skyey course in a direct path. And when the dove in its flight had come to that place which we know is not now barren of large stones, it descended and struck with its beak an elevated spot under which many stones lay concealed. After this sure indication the worthy virgin of Christ ordered her companions to clear the place and by digging to cut through the mass of earth. When this had been accomplished, through the kindly goodness of God, a great abundance of large rocks was uncovered. From this source the walls of the monastery and church could derive their full supply of unhewn rock. Thereafter more and more the builders of the temple that was to be dedicated to the glory of the Lord applied themselves wholeheartedly night and day to the new work.

But Duke Liudulf, who was its first founder and to whose care the commencement of the whole structure was due in response to the entreating prayers of Oda, did not, alas, bring the zealous work to its completion, but he was stricken by the baleful doom of our common mortality and so was compelled to render up his soul to its Maker, before the honored house of the Lord could be completed. Dying, he entrusted the whole weight and responsibility of the momentous undertaking to his dear surviving wife and to his sons, the rulers mentioned above, beseeching them with zealous prayers to complete the whole construction of the monastery yet to be built. His revered remains were then duly entrusted to the bosom of earth in the ancient church; but after the lapse of some years his bones were removed from there to be placed in the new church. Perchance God took him from this world when he had scarce attained the warmth of middle age, in order that thereafter the heart of the eminent Lady Oda, intent upon God, with no further thought of earthly love whatsoever, might be able to devote itself more fully to the things of God. Yet He refused her not the consolation of assistance, but with His wonted benignity vouchsafed her fresh riches, so that with such support she might be enabled to enrich her nuns with all that our needs require.

- 305 Ergo sui natam, Liutgard de nomine dictam,
Nutu clementis regis praestante perennis,
Elegit clarus Francorum rex Hludowicus
Regni consortem sibimet sociamque perennem,
Filius illius, cuius dono Liudulfus,
- 310 Suscepit primum propriae gentis dominatum.
Quae, regina quidem nobis ad prosperitatem
Facta, suae dignum sanctae matri famulatum
(Consensu) regis praebens, proprii senioris,
(Maxima) coenobio permisit commoda nostro.
- 315 Interea Christi virgo felix Hathumoda,
Cum gregis undenos curam bis gesserat annos,
Ocius in Christo moriens transivit ad astra;
Gerbergae tenerum commisit ovile regendum.
Haec fuit illustri cuidam nimiumque potenti
- 320 Desponsata viro, Bernrad de nomine dicto:
Sed sese Christo clam consecraverat ipsa
Caelesti fervens sponso velamine sacro,
Omnino sponsum spernens animo moriturum.
Nec tamen extimplo, pro seditione cavenda,
- 325 Auro fulgentes potuit deponere vestes,
Induitur solito sed vestitu pretioso.
Interea venit, quem sponsa dei reprobavit,
Uti colloquiis eius quaerens manifestis;
Audivit vero, votum quia fecerit ipsa
- 330 Velle puellarem caste servare pudorem.
Quae cum tardaret cito nec procedere vellet,
Quod prius audierat, verum fore valde timebat;
Impatiensque morae domnam precibus placat Odam.
Donec ipsa suam iussit procedere natam,
- 335 Ornatam pulchre cultu vestis pretiosae
Necnon gemmatis sponsarum more metallis.
Ast ubi Bernradus vidit, quam desideravit,
His verbis caram causari fertur amicam:
'Non raro didici, fama prodente sinistra,
- 340 Quod tu nitaris nostrum dirumpere pactum
Et fidei foedus servandum solvere prorsus.
At nunc ad bellum citius properare futurum
Praecepto regis cogor, nostri senioris;
Hinc tempus quidni non est hoc discutiendi,
- 345 Si redeam certe sospes, comitante salute,
Scito procul dubio, quod te mihimet sociabo
Atque tui votum penitus pessumdabo vanum.'
Dixerat, et dextra, permotus mente, levata
Iurat per gladium, per candidulum quoque collum,

305 Her daughter, named Liutgard, through the kindly will
of the Eternal King, was chosen to be the queen and wife
of the famed King Louis of France. He was the son of
that ruler whose gift had first established Liudulf in
310 dominion over his own race. Liutgard became queen, unto
our advantage, affording with the consent of the king,
her own lord, a worthy service to her saintly mother and
granting very great benefits to our monastery.

315 Meanwhile, Hathumoda, the happy spouse of Christ,
after bearing for twice eleven years the responsibilities
of her flock, died in Christ and passed forthwith to the
heavens. To Gerberga she entrusted the governance of her
320 tender flock. Now Gerberga was betrothed to a distin-
guished and exceedingly influential man named Bernard.
But she had secretly consecrated herself by means of the
sacred veil to Christ, with an ardent love for her cele-
stial Spouse and a complete disdain of heart for any mor-
325 tal lover. Yet, because of her desire to avoid civil
disturbance, she was not at once able to lay aside her
garments resplendent with gold, and she continued to at-
tire herself in costly raiment. Meanwhile, Bernard, whom
this bride of Christ had rejected, came, seeking to enjoy
her unreserved association. But he heard that she her-
self had made a vow expressive of her will to preserve
330 untainted her maidenly chastity. Now when Gerberga hesi-
tated and was not willing to go forthwith, he began to be
very much afraid that the story he had heard might prove
to be true. And brooking no delay, he won over the Lady
Oda with entreaties, until she herself bade her daughter
go forth beautifully clad in costly apparel and with jew-
335 eled adornments such as brides are accustomed to wear.
But when Bernard saw the dear object of his ardent love
he is said to have chided her in these words: "Often
have I heard from the disclosures of malevolent rumor
that thou art striving to disrupt our compact and wholly
340 to dissolve the plighted troth that should be preserved.
But now, by order of the king, our lord, I am compelled
to hasten speedily to the impending war; hence there is
now no time to make thee retract thy vow. But if I re-
345 turn uninjured, with health to support me, know that I
will assuredly ally thee to myself and utterly put to
naught thy vain vow". These were his words; and in fury
of heart he raised his right hand and swore by his sword
and by her white throat that, so far as in him lay, the

- 350 Iuxta posse sui factis praedicta repleri.
Respondens ergo Gerberg ait ore modesto:
'Christo me totam committo meam quoque vitam,
Utque fiat de me iuxta domini rogo velle.'
His ita colloquiis mutuo sermone peractis,
355 Bernrad mox abiit casuque suo cito sensit
Nil contra dominum quemcumque valere superbum,
Et, quia plus iusto deliquit inania fando,
Decidit in bello, victus virtute superna;
Ac Christi virgo sponsi caelestis amoris
360 Se mox coniunxit, quem caste semper amavit.

- Cuius primatus sexto, ni fallor, in anno
Brun dux, ecclesiam promptus defendere sanctam
Incurso de saevorum satis Ungariorum,
(Pro dolor) ex ipsis domini pravis inimicis
365 Occiditur binis cum praesulibus venerandis
Omnibus atque viris propriae pariter legionis.
Quo mox occiso, iunior frater suus Odo,
Dux factus populi dono regis Hludowici,
Respondit factis sanctae voto genitricis,
370 Ac studio simili concordans nititur illi
Cultibus ecclesiam dignis ornare novellam,
Quae post haec anno fuerat sacrandae secundo,
Moenia coenobii perfecit (et) omnia nostri,
Commoda mansuris illic per saecula puellis.
- 375 His bene perfectis iuxta praecepta parentis,
Eligitur, domina poscente videlicet Oda,
Ipsa dies templo condigne sanctificando,
In cuius noctis medio quam pluribus illo
Tertio conspicuae quondam fulsere lucernae,
380 Et quod cunctorum pariter venerabile festum
Sanctorum vasti fuerat per climata mundi
Principio mensis celebrandum rite novembris.
Hac fama templi passim resonante sacrandi,
Undique permultae mox confluxere catervae,
385 Optantes diei praesentes esse celebri.
Scilicet aurorae primo candore micante,
Omnis nostrarum collectim turba sororum,

350 words he had spoken would be fulfilled in deeds. But
Gerberga spoke in reply words of gentle utterance:
"Unto Christ I entrust myself and my whole life, and I
pray that it be done unto me according to the will of
the Lord". Thus when they had finished their conversa-
355 tion, Bernard forthwith departed and quickly realized by
his own fate that no man of pride whatsoever can avail
against the Lord. And since he had transgressed due
bounds through idleness of utterance, he fell in war,
the Power from on high prevailing over him. And the
maiden soon united herself to the love of Christ, her
360 heavenly Spouse, Whom she had always cherished with
chaste affection.

In the sixth year of his reign, if I mistake not,
Duke Bruno, quick to defend Holy Church from the inroads
of the savage Hungarians, was, alas, along with two es-
365 teemed rulers and likewise with all the men of his own
forces, slain by these same vicious enemies of the Lord.
Shortly after his death, his younger brother Otto, by
favor of King Louis, was made ruler of the people. By
his deeds he responded to the prayers of his saintly
370 mother, and with a zeal like to hers he strove to
beautify the new church with becoming elegance. In the
second year after his coming into office it was dedi-
cated. Otto, moreover, finished the walls of our
monastery to be a refuge for the maidens who would abide
there during the centuries.

375 When these achievements had been satisfactorily com-
pleted according to the injunctions of his mother, he
chose at the urgent request of the Lady Oda that very
day for the dedication of the church, upon which, at
midnight, lights had in an earlier year gleamed brightly
to be beheld my many for the third time. Likewise, that
date was chosen because the solemn festal day of All
380 Saints was to be duly celebrated the length and breadth
of the spacious earth on that same first of the month of
November.

As this rumor of the dedication of the church re-
echoed far and wide, very large crowds, wishing to be at
hand for that eventful day, soon flocked together from
385 all directions. In thanksgiving for having received the
blessed remains of our holy patrons, the whole community
of our sisters in a body, at the first bright streak of

- Susceptis patronorum gratulando piorum
 Corporibus sacris, pergit resonantibus hymnis
 390 Ad loca coenobii summo conamine structi.
 Tunc tandem, cunctis ad cultum rite paratis
 Festi, Wicberhtus praesul domini benedictus
 Dedicat hoc templum domini sub honore decorum
 Omnibus ad laudem sanctis per saecula perennem,
 395 Quorum tunc festum digne fuerat celebrandum.
 Hoc nam facta fuit clari sacratio templi
 Centum mansurnis octo vicibus revolutis
 Octonis denis, uno pariter superaucto,
 Postquam virgo puellaris sine sorde pudoris
 400 Saeculorum regem peperit propriumque parentem.
 Tunc coepere locis primum silvestribus illis
 Carmina divinae laudis clare resonare.
 Exin et illius nostri collectio coetus
 Illic permansit domino iugiter famulando.
 405 Et, licet abbatissa gregem Gerberga recentem
 Cautè servaret crebris monitisque doceret
 Conservare, suae fuerant quae congrua vitae,
 Contra propositum nec quid patrare profanum,
 Domna tamen conversando venerabilis Oda
 410 Intra claustra monasterii cura vigilanti
 Scrutatur coniunctarum persaepe sororum
 Actus et studium, mores, vitae quoque cursum,
 Ne vel contempta maiorum lege sequenda
 Vivere lege sua reprobe praesumeret ulla,
 415 Vel locus illiciti foret ullius peragendi,
 Exemploque suo praemonstravit facienda.
 Et, ceu prudentis dulcis dilectio matris
 Nunc terrore suas prohibet delinquere natas,
 Nunc etiam monitis bona velle suadet amicis,
 420 Sic haec sancta suas caras instruxit alumnas,
 Nunc dominatricis mandando iure potentis,
 Nunc etiam matris mulcendo more suavis,
 Quo vita simili cunctae communiter uni
 Servirent regi, iubilant cui sidera caeli.
 425 Praeterea, quas maternae pietatis amore
 Nutrivit, vere magno veneratur honore,
 Has ipsas vocitando suas saepissime domnas.
 Nam quoties neptes eius proceresque nepotes,
 Quos praepollentis decus extollebat honoris,
 430 Eius ad implendum convenerunt famulatum,
 Certantes donis illam donare coruscis
 Regis ut illustrem socrum propriamque parentem,

390 dawn, went forth amid the chanting of hymns to the loca-
tion of the monastery which had been erected with such
extreme solicitude. Then at length, when all prepara-
tions for the celebration of the festival had been duly
made, Wichbert, blessed bishop of the Lord, dedicated
this magnificent church to the glory of God for endless
praise throughout the ages to all the saints whose feast
395 was then worthily commemorated.

The consecration of the famous church occurred on
this feast in the eight hundred and eightieth yearly
cycle, plus one, since a Virgin, without loss of her
maidenly chastity, brought forth One who was King of the
ages and her own Sire. Then for the first time in these
400 sylvan regions did Hymns of Divine Praise begin to sound
forth clearly. Thereafter the congregation of this our
community abode there in unremitting service to the
Lord. And although the Abbess Gerberga carefully safe-
405 guarded the young flock and instructed it by frequent
exhortations to observe those things that were in
harmony with its monastic life and to avoid every deed
contrary to such a course of life, nevertheless the
esteemed Lady Oda, dwelling within the enclosure of the
410 monastery, scrutinized with watchful solicitude the
actions, zeal, customs, and the mode of life of the
united sisters, lest any one of them should disdain the
rule of her predecessors and presume to live wickedly by
following a law of her own, and that there might be no
415 occasion for the doing of any lawless deed, she by her
own example led the way in what was to be done. As the
fond love of a wise mother now restrains her daughters
by fear from wrong-doing and now even draws them by
kindly exhortations to the desire of virtue; so this
420 saintly woman instructed her dear foster children, now
by the impelling law of an authoritative mistress and
now in the soothing manner of an affectionate mother.
She acted thus that they in community of life might
serve the One King to whom the stars of heaven sing
jubilee. Those, moreover, whom she reared with a love
425 of maternal kindness, she truly revered with great
regard, very frequently calling them her superiors. As
often as her granddaughters and her noble grandsons,
whom the dignity of great office exalted, came to do her
a service and vied with one another in showering her
430 with resplendent gifts, in deference to her place as
mother-in-law of the king and their own parent, she is

- Illos mox verbis affari dicitur istis:
 'Exhortans moneo vos, o mea pignora cara,
 435 Ut maturetis condignis primule vestris
 Muneribus nostras large ditescere domnas,
 Hic servire piis debent quae sedulo nostris
 Patronis, quorum meritis, precibus quoque sacris
 Successus nobis optatae prosperitatis
 440 Necnon regalis decus accedebat honoris.'
 Hac ratione suam stirpem persuaserat omnem
 Erga coenobii cultum pie sollicitari;
 Et loca, quae generii dono regis Hludowici
 Possessura quidem proprium suscepit in usum,
 445 Permittente sua pariter pietate benigna,
 Ecclesiae tradi faciebat Gandeshemensi.
 Nec rex ipse locum sublimavit minus illum,
 Liudgardis pie reginae bonitate precante;
 Sed tradens illi largitur praedia multa
 450 In ius Cerbergae, nostrae rectricis amandae,
 Ipsius illustris reginae namque sororis.
 Quae rex Arnulfus, successor scilicet huius,
 Post haec per scriptum regali iure statutum
 Firmat, vinetis eius dono suprauctis.
 455 Ac sic coenobio succedunt prospere plura,
 Summorum meritis intercedentibus almis
 Pontificum, quorum constat sub honore dicatum.
 Sed ne plus iusto fragiles extollere mentes
 Suaderet talis successus prosperitatis,
 460 Utque probaretur felix nostri dominatrix,
 Vere iudicii salubris censura superni
 Perplures horum mundo subtraxerat isto,
 Quorum coenobium fuerat solamine fultum.

- Ergo rege pio iam defuncto Hludowico,
 465 Qui regum primus nostros tradebat in usus
 Regali prius obsequio loca debita multa,
 Necnon cyrographis eius sub nomine scriptis
 Iura monasterii firmaverat omnia nostri,
 Eius post annos discessus denique paucos
 470 Liudgardis regina, sui dignissima regni
 Consorts, tantorum quae nobis causa bonorum
 Extitit, e mundo discessit (pro dolor) isto
 Non sine nostrarum magno rerum detrimento.
 Cui nam consimilis successit causa doloris,
 475 Abbatissa bonis Cerberg quia dedita curis,

said to have addressed them forthwith with these words:
"I exhort and counsel you, my dear children, to hasten
435 first of all to enrich abundantly with worthy offerings
our mistresses, who must here zealously serve our holy
patrons, by whose merits and sacred entreaties the suc-
cess of our desired good fortune and the dignity of our
440 royal glory have been increased".

In this fashion she persuaded her whole family to be
piously solicitous for the upkeep of the monastery. And
the lands which she received by gift from her son-in-
law, King Louis, to possess for her own use, she caused
with his permission to be transferred to the Church of
445 Gandersheim.

And the king himself in reply to the kindly prayers
of Queen Liutgarda did not fail to enrich the estate;
but he assigned as gifts thereto many farms transferring
them to the jurisdiction of our beloved Abbess Gerberga,
450 and the sister of the illustrious queen. And his suc-
cessor, King Arnulf, added vineyards by gift on his
part, and established the donations permanently with
regal power through written document given under his
royal hand. Thus in many ways things succeeded well for
455 the monastery by reason of the kindly intercessions of
the Chief Pontiff under whose direction the monastery
was established.

But lest the good fortune of such prosperity should
bring about an undue insolence in weak human hearts, and
in order that our blessed superioress might be tested, a
460 salutary chastisement of judgment from on high took from
this world very many of those whose encouragement had
given support to the monastery.

In time, then, good King Louis died, he who was first
of the kings to give over to our use many lands hereto-
fore under fealty to royal control, and to establish
with signatures written under his name all the rights of
our monastery. A few years after his demise, Queen
470 Liutgarda, the worthy consort of his throne, who had
been the cause of countless beneficences to us, de-
parted, alas, from this world, to the great loss of our
interests. To this bereavement a like cause of grief
presently followed. The Abbess Gerberga had dedicated
475 her life to goodly concerns and through the aid of the

- Quae praedictorum suffulta iuvamine regum
 Necnon reginae germano foedere iunctae
 Coenobium donis ornavit saepe coruscis
 Usibus et quaestum nostris superaddidit amplum,
 480 Postquam bis denos binos quoque praefuit annos,
 Officio vice rectricis perfuncta prioris,
 Deposito fragilis mortali pondere carnis
 Factori flatum reddebat ab aethre receptum;
 Orbatumque sui dimisit ovile sorori
 485 Christinae procurandum sancteque tuendum.

- Quae, praefatarum mores sectando sororum
 Atque sui vitam bene praemeditando gerendam,
 Illis fit similis magnae famae probitatis,
 Quis fuit aequalis propectu nobilitatis.
 490 Mater et illius, stabilem corrumpere cuius
 Mentem nullarum potuit mutatio rerum,
 Quominus obsequio domini fieret studiosa,
 Provocat exemplis illam, monitis quoque crebris,
 Ut, sese semper circumspiciens sapienter,
 495 Commisum caute sibimet servaret ovile
 Necnon factorum iuxta meritum variorum
 Nunc pie subiectas monitis mulceret amicis,
 Nunc etiam verbis iuste terreret acerbis,
 Ne quem divini ritum cultus violari
 500 Torpens affectus cordis permetteret eius.
 Ipsaque donna sui studio laudabilis Oda,
 Quae, claris splendens radiis mirae bonitatis,
 Sat dilecta deo fuerat, celebris quoque mundo,
 Semper maternae solito pietatis amore
 505 Eius adoptivis studuit conquirere natis,
 Quicquid nonnarum deposcere sciverat usum;
 Odonisque ducis clari devotio grandis,
 Concordando suae votis carae genitricis,
 Auxilio regum, quibus exhibuit famulatum,
 510 Ipsum virgineum coetum Christi famularum
 Fovit clementer necnon provexit amanter.
 Nec propriae vitae compelli quivit amore,
 Ut vel eas damno laedendo tangeret ullo,
 Vel minus impleret, quae mater digna iuberet.
 515 Ac sic concessae sibimet per tempora vitae
 Omni ferventis studuit conamine mentis
 Coenobio patronorum praebere suorum
 Ipsius auxilii semper tutamina certi;
 Nec vice terribilis metui petiit senioris,
 520 Sed bene mansueti genitoris ad instar amari:
 Unde loco non inmerito permansit in illo

aforesaid kings and the ties of kinship with the queen, her sister, had often embellished the convent with resplendent gifts and had added ample substance for our use. After she had been for twice ten and two years in
480 office, performing the duties of prioress as head of her community, she laid aside the mortal weight of the frail human body and returned to her Maker the breath of life she had received from on high. To her sister, Christine, she entrusted the bereaved flock, to be devotedly
485 cared for and safeguarded.

Christine, by imitating the character of her sisters and by a careful planning of a conduct of life, became, by reason of her great virtue, like to them whose equal she was in degree of nobility. And her mother, whose steadfast mind no change of circumstance could affect, in her service of God, by frequent word and example encouraged her daughter always to be wisely on the alert and prudently to safeguard the flock entrusted to her; and, according to the deserts of their various deeds now
490 piously to soothe those subordinate to her with loving counsels and now again justly to terrify them with reproachful words; lest the affection of her heart should grow lukewarm and allow any rite of divine worship to be disregarded. And the lady Oda herself was
495 pre-eminent in her zeal and resplendent in the bright radiance of wondrous integrity, beloved by God and of fair fame in the world. With her wonted love of motherly kindness she was ever solicitous to obtain for her adopted daughters whatever she knew the needs of
500 nuns required. And the great devotedness of the illustrious Duke Otto, in accord with the wishes of his dear mother, made use of the aid of the kings to whom he tendered service to cherish in kindly wise and to advance devotedly the virginal band of the servants of
505 Christ. Nor could he be driven, even through love for his own life, either to harm them by causing any injurious loss, or to withhold any gift that his worthy mother bade him give. Thus during the span of life
510 allotted to him he strove with all the effort of his zealous heart ever to provide for the monastery of his patrons with the constant protection of his unfailing aid. He sought not to be feared as a dread lord, but to be well loved after the fashion of a kindly father.
515 Therefore, even to this day, the praise of his remarkable kindness deservedly endures in this spot. We,

- Hactenus insignis laus illius pietatis.
 Nos quoque permotae tantae dulcedine famae,
 Necdum maternis quae tunc prorupimus alvis,
 525 Sed fuimus vere longo post tempore natae,
 Haut minus illius constanter amore flagramus,
 Quam quae praesentem contemplabantur eundem
 Atque suae donis ditabantur pietatis.
- Hic igitur talis praeclarae vir pietatis,
 530 Qui pius urbicolis tribuit bona talia nostris,
 Morte sui matrem nostri domnamque potentem
 Praeveniendo prior, vetiti pro crimine pomi,
 Quod protoplastes degustavere parentes,
 Exiit membris limoso stamine textis
 535 (Pro dolor) atque seris clausit sua lumina mortis,
 Coetu nostrarum circumvallante sororum
 Pernimio domni fletu lectum morituri.
 Cuius ad exequias summo nisu celebrandas
 Undique nostrates confluerunt lacrimantes,
 540 Atque sui loetum cari senioris amarum
 Omnes inmodicis pariter flevere lamentis.
 Sed luctum procerum vulgi pariterque lamentum
 Vicit nonnarum miseranda querela suarum;
 Quae, pro defectu mentis solito muliebris
 545 Vivere spernentes citiusque mori cupientes,
 In lacrimando modum voluerunt ponere nullum.
 Hinc patris eiusdem cari domnique benigni
 Corpus per triduum conservabant inhumatum,
 Ceu sese lacrimis sperarent posse refusis
 550 Extincti flatum citius revocare reductum.
 Tandem concilium sapiens satis advenientum
 Decernens, vanae spei debere reniti,
 Ocius in tumulo non absque dolore parato,
 Sed luctu nimio circumstantum madefacto,
 555 Membra ducis tanti digne servanda locari
 Fecit in ecclesiae medio, quam struxerat ipse.
 Illic nostrarum studio certante sororum
 Continuis precibus dilectus spiritus eius
 Semper celsithroni commendatur pietati,
 560 Quo det ei requiem clemens sine fine perennem.

Scilicet ante dies octo totidem quoque noctes,
 Quam ducis occasus miserabilis accidit huius,
 Ipsius nato, regi quandoque futuro,
 Nascitur Henrico famosus filius Ottdo,

too, influenced by the suavity of his goodly repute,
though not yet born in his day but coming to the light
525 of day long afterwards, yet are warmed with a love of
him not less enduring than that which they felt, who
beheld his presence and were enriched by the gifts
of his benevolence.

This man, then, distinguished for beneficence as he
was, who in his fervor had bestowed upon those dwelling
530 with us gifts of high value, died before his mother and
our influential mistress. Because of the guilt result-
ing from the fruit of old which our first parents
tasted, he was loosed from his members fashioned from
texture of clay and, alas, closed his eyes with the seal
535 of death. With intense weeping the community of our
sisters surrounded the couch of their dying master.
From all directions our grief-stricken countrymen
flocked together to attend his obsequies which were to
be solemnized with all due rites, and all in like degree
540 mourned with weeping unrestrained the lamentable death
of their beloved lord. But the plaintive wailing of his
nuns surpassed the lamentable grief of the chieftains
and the mourning of the common folk as well. In accord-
ance with the wonted weakness of their womanish hearts,
545 they disdained to live, and longed speedily to die, not
willing to place any bounds to their weeping. Hence,
for three days they kept the corpse of their dear father
and benevolent lord unburied, as if they hoped that by
their flowing tears they could speedily recall the
550 departed spirit of the deceased king. At length the
wise admonition of their guests convinced them that one
must needs relinquish vain hopes and persuaded them
forthwith to commit the body of the great ruler for
interment in the center of the church he himself had
555 built and in a tomb made ready amid excessive grief and
moistened with the copious tears of the bystanders.
There, with the zeal of our sisters vying with one
another in constant prayers, his beloved soul was
commended to the benignity of Him ever throned on high,
that He in His mercy might grant him eternal rest with-
560 out end.

Now eight days and as many nights before the sad
death of this sovereign occurred, there was born to his
son and sometime future king, Henry, a son, the renowned
Otto, who by the benevolence of the Eternal King was

565 Qui fuit electus regis pietate perennis
Primus Saxonum rex post patrem strenuorum,
Augustus Romanorum pariterque potentum.

Mensibus hinc senis cursu volitante peractis,
Dum decus hoc tanti clarum generis fuit ortum,
570 In quo laeta procul dubio promissa repleta
Christi baptistae creduntur primitus esse,
Istius exiguae quae mox in vertice musae
Aedae namque suae memini fore dicta parenti,
Oda nimis felix, nostri spes et dominatrix,
575 Cum decies denos septem quoque vixerat annos,
Vitam fine bono consummans transit ad astra,
Expectans spe felici tempus redeundi
Flatus atque resurgendi de pulvere pleni
Corporis, in tumulto quod nunc sub tegmine duro
580 Iuxta natarum requiescit busta suarum.

Nec Christina, suis quae sola remansit alumnis,
Iam tunc instantis grandis dulcedo doloris,
Plus quam bis ternos post matrem vixerat annos,
Sed reddens animam, factore vocante, beatam,
585 Iungitur in lucis patria pacisque perennis
Eius germanis, quarum pollebat honoris
Heres et sanctae sectatrix inclita vitae.
Quas matri cunctas in caelo consociatas,
Alme pater, tecum praesta gaudere per aevum
590 Illius et regni mercede perenniter uti,
Quod retro cuncta tuis servasti saecula caris,
Quo, te cum nato necnon cum flamine sacro
Solum rectorem caelestibus imperitantem
Dulci laetitiae laudantes voce iocundae.

565 chosen after his father first king of the vigorous
Saxons, and likewise Augustus of the mighty Romans.

Then when six months had passed in flying course,
after this renowned ornament of a great race had been
570 born, in whom the joyful promises of the Baptist of
Christ are believed without doubt to have been for the
first time fulfilled, (promises which I related at the
beginning of my slight poem had been spoken to his
ancestress, Aeda,) the blessed Oda, our hope and pro-
tectress, after living ten decades and seven years,
575 terminated her life with a happy close and passed to
Heaven, looking forward with hope to the time of return-
ing breath, the rising of a glorified body from the
dust, the body that now rests in a tomb under the hard
580 earth near the graves of her daughters.

Christine, who alone survived for her foster children
and who was then a great consolation in the sorrow over-
whelming them, lived not more than twice three years
after her mother. But she returned her blessed soul at
the beckoning of her Maker and in the Fatherland of
585 light and everlasting peace was united to her sisters,
of whose nobility she was the heiress while she sought
gloriously after a saintly life. Now that they are all
united with their mother in Heaven, do Thou kindly
Father, grant that they may with Thee rejoice throughout
eternity and forever enjoy the reward of that kingdom
590 which Thou hast safeguarded before all ages for those
whom Thou lovest, in order that, in sweet utterance of
blessed joy, they may praise Thee with the Son and with
the Holy Spirit as the sole Sovereign ruling in Heaven.

COMMENTARY

PREFACE

1. *Gerberga*: niece of Otto the Great, daughter of Henry, Duke of Bavaria. She, known as *Cerberga II*, was consecrated abbess in 959. Cf. *Blashfield*, p. 12.

abbatissa: an ecclesiastical word of Semetic origin; it occurs in *Prim.* 113, 241, 405, 475.

Although some attempt is made to preserve homoioteleuton in this address, there is no rhyme. The form is rather that of the writer's comedies, poetic prose.

pro sui eminentia: *pro* here seems to be used in the meaning of "according to, in proportion to, in view of, by virtue of (= secundum). In the Classical period this usage is chiefly confined to a few formal phrases, e.g. *pro re*, *pro parte*, *pro copia*, *pro viribus*, cf. *K-Steg.* 2.1.516. *Hrotsvit* employs *pro* in this sense with a number of words which, to my knowledge, are not so used in Classical authors.

sui: *Hrotsvit* shows a departure from the Classical in the employment of the reflexive pronoun *sui* and *tui* in place of the possessive adjective *suus* and *tuus*. Cf. *L-Hof.* 469-470. This usage occurs frequently.

- 1-5. This first paragraph is apparently a kind of inscriptional usage without an expressed verb.

2. *obsequela venerationis*: *obsequela*, the diminutive form of *obsequium*; "humble demonstration of respect". For this and other diminutives cf. *Intro.* p. 15.

3. *stemmata generositatis*: *stemma*= a wreath, crown; by metonymy as employed here, = a family, lineage. Cf. *Juvenal*, 8.1, "*Stemmata quid faciunt, quid prodest, Pontice*".

7. *praelucetis*: plural for the singular; this irregularity in number is common in Late and Medieval Latin; cf. *L-Hof.* pp. 371-372. The usage occurs frequently in *Hrotsvit*.

non pigescat: for *ne pigescat*; this use of *non* in place of the more common *ne* is found rarely in Early Latin,

occurs once in Cicero, but is more frequent in Livy, in poetry, and in Silver prose. It becomes much more frequent in Late Latin; cf. L-Hof. pp. 573-574.

8. *quod si ignoratis: si = non*: "since you are not ignorant of"; Newnan, p. 92, gives the following explanation for this use of *si*: "An extension of the Hebrew use of the conditional in a negative oath, through the Greek use of *Εἰ* in the same sense. I am indebted to Miss Susan Cobbs of Randolph Macon College for Women for two references in ancient grammarians to this use of *si*: *Gramm. Suppl.* (p.181), and *Pal. Lat.* 1746, fol. 121r, 34ff., a manuscript of Tatwin, which she will publish shortly".

Note the *quod*-clause instead of the infinitive with accusative. In Indirect Discourse Hrotsvit employs the infinitive with the accusative 300 times, the *quod*-clause 20 times. Cf. Newnan, p. 162.

- 14-15. Both Widukind and Liudprand wrote histories of the Ottos which might have been accessible to Hrotsvit. Liudprand was an eye witness of many of the events which Hrotsvit for diplomatic and charitable reasons refrained from mentioning. Gundlach, pp. 530-549, gives the complete chronicle of Liudprand.

Widukind in his *Sachsengeschichte* gives a full account of the coronation of Otto I. which event was lightly sketched by Hrotsvit. He, moreover, develops at full length the feud between Otto and his brother Henry. Cf. Gundlach, pp. 4-7-431.

- 15-25. Commenting on this passage, Eckenstein, pp. 156-157, remarks that the simile doubtless was suggested by the surroundings of the convent.

22. *progredi non praesumeret: praesumere* as employed here in the sense of "venture", "dare", is Late Latin, cited for Hil., Rufin., Supl. Sev., Vulg., Paneg., Hier., et al; --"to take", or "do beforehand", Ov., Plin. *Nat.*, Tac.

For the use of *praesumere* with infinitive cf. Intro, p. 17.

24. *prolixitatem*: a Late Latin noun cited for Apul., Dig., Symm., et al.
32. *aliquantisper*: "a little while", cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 572, "Esto, at certe ut hinc concedas aliquo ab ore eorum aliquantisper".
35. *unde...vereor me ...argui*: clause of fear or anxiety with infinitive and subject accusative, the most usual construction of Krotsvit. Cf. Newnan, p. 151.
36. *dehonestare*: a Silver Latin verb cited for Liv., San, Phil., Tac., Suet., Fronto, Prud., and Late writers; cf. Aug. *Civ.* 2.68.27, "quanto minus senatoriam curiam dehonestari sinunt"; Ibid. 7.306.12; 12.513.26.
- 39-40. *quanto sexus fragilior...*: commenting on this passage Blashfield, p. 18, says, "In Krotsvit's day a woman who handled a pen felt more obliged to apologize for her occupation than she who wielded a sword. In letters she still covered behind the shield of her sex".
41. *praesumptionis*: as here in the sense of "boldness", "audacity", the word is cited for Apul., Tert., Supl. Sev., Cypr., Amm., Hier., et al.--in the sense of "anticipated enjoyment", for Plin. *Ep.*, Apul. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 7.20.26, "quid interesset inter praesumptionem et confessionem".
- si*: cf. note 8.
44. *censurae*: "judgment", or "criticism" (of approval or disapproval), a Poetic, Silver, and Late Latin meaning, cited for Ov., Mart., Tac., Plin., Cell., Apul., and Eccl. writers. Only in Eccl. Latin does it denote "severe judgment". The word occurs also in *Prim.* 461
- solummodo*: a Late Latin word cited for Ulp., Ps. Quint., Decl., Tert., Min. Fel., Serv., Hier., Rufin. et al.
46. *pro sui vilitate*: cf. note 1.

47. *propalari*: (from *propalam*) a late Latin word cited for Comm., Oros., Claud. Man., Sidon., Vict. Vit., et al.
50. *Archipraesulis Wilhelmi*: archbishop of Mainz, illegitimate son of Otto I; cf. Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 361.

PROLOGUE I.

2. *Oddo*: Otto I.

4. For the thought cf. Prud. *Ham.* 392, "namque illic numerosa cohors sub principe tali militat".

5. *plures*: in Classical Latin *plures* always has a comparative meaning; beginning with Livy it becomes the equivalent of *complures*, "very many" as here. Cf. K-Schm. 2.311.

9. *gregis*: *grex* or *greges* is frequently used to designate a religious congregation. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 8.6.15, "ad monasteriorum greges". The usage occurs also in *Prim.* 316, 405.

14-15. Cf. note to *Preface* 14-15.

18. *tui*: cf. note in *Preface* 1.

20. *mis mentis*: for "meae mentis"; *mis* and *tis* are old genitive forms found in Early Latin writers; cf. Enn. (quoted by Prisc. 1.d.) "ingens cura mis concordibus aequiperare"; Plaut. *Mil.* 1033, "quia tis egeat"; *Trin.* 343, "ne tis alios misereat". Cf. K-Steg 1.1.578.

PROLOGUE II.--Dedicated to Otto II.

3. *altithronus*: - hybrid; in Late and Medieval Latin hybrids were used frequently. Cf. *co-episcopus* "fellow bishop" cited for Cypr., Hil., Hier., Aug., et al.; *compresbyter* "fellow priest" cited for Cypr., Hil., Ambr., Rufin., et al.; *daemonicola* "one who worships demons, a heathen", found frequently in Aug. *Ep.* and *Civ.* Those employed by Krotsvit are: *caelicolae*, *Gest.* 365; *flavicomantis*, *Prim.* 44; *celsithroni*, 559; *urbicolis*, 530.

- 5-10. These verses may be construed as indicative of the intimate relationship existing between Hrotsvit and the Saxon royal family. Cf. Manitius, vol. 1. p. 629.
11. *tis*: cf. note, *ProL*. 1.20.
13. *scrutandum*: a relatively rare verb before late Latin; it is cited for Ov., Hor., Plin. *Ep.*, Tac., Curt., Amm. et al. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 6.257.8, "plus quam ut ea vulgum scrutari expediat".
16. *promptus*: with infinitive; this usage begins with Lucan. Cf. K-Steg. 2.1.685.
18. *conportans dextra sceptrum regale tenella*: Otto II, son of Adelaide and Otto I, was just eighteen years old at the time of his accession to the throne.
20. For Scriptural allusion cf. *Reg.* 3.1.30-53.
- famosi*: *famosus* was employed by Cicero and earlier authors only in a disreputable sense. Horace is cited as the first to use it in a reputable sense; *Ars.* 469, "ponet famosae mortis amorem". Cf. K-Schm. 1.580. With later writers this use became frequent. Hrotsvit in her historical poems employs it thus 10 times; cf. Intro. p. 15.
30. *prolem restitui verae mandans genetrici*: for Scriptural allusion cf. *Reg.* 3.3.16-28.
33. *propriae*: a Late Latin usage, equivalent to the classical possessive. K-Schm. 2.408; L-Hof. p. 473 makes it the equivalent of *suus*, citing Amm. and Ps. Rufin. This usage is simply a natural result of a tendency, already pronounced in Silver Latin, to employ the word in a rather unrestricted fashion. The word in this usage occurs frequently in Hrotsvit.
34. *lectitare*: "to read with attention, or often", a Ciceronian word comparatively rare; besides Cic. it is cited for Plin. *Ep.*, Tac., Quint., Cell., Hist., Aug. et al. Cf. Aug. *Civ.* 3.101.28, "quae apud illos de matre Aeneae et de matre Romuli lectitantur".
38. *despectus nimia meriti tueantur ab aura*: apparently

from *tueo* not *tueor* as it seems to be employed here in the passive sense. Cf. Dig. 27.10.7, "*Consilio et opera curatoris tueri debet non solum patrimonium, sed et corpus et salus furioso*". The passive is not found in prose among the better writers, it appears first in Vitruvius and occurs in Late Latin; cf. K-Schm. 2.680. The same usage occurs in *Prim.* 151.

-o-

GESTA OTTONIS

1. *rex regum*: Hebraic genitive: --Regarding this, Newnan, pp. 121-122, says, "There is one type of genitive, found in two expressions in Hrotsvit's works, which is current in Church Latin and is probably a literal translation from the Hebrew. It is used for emphasis. The other expression is *saecula saeculorum* from which may have developed such a meaningless phrase as *saeculum saeculi*, *Gest.* 1145, which is merely the singular of *saecula saeculorum*".

4-5. *nomen habentem a saxo*: commenting on this verse Gundlach prefers the etymology of the name as given by Widukind: "Sie zogen ihre Messer und fielen ueber die Whre- und fassungslosen her und stiessen alle nieder, so dass auch nicht ein einziger von ihnen uebrig blieb. So floessten sie den Nachbarvoelkern gar grossen Schrecken ein; es war der Anfang der ruhmreichen Sachsen-Geschichte.

Man will auch wissen, dass ihnen diese That den Namen eingetragen hat: das Messer heisse naemlich in unserer Sprache "Sachs", und Sachsen-Helden seien sie genannt, weil sie mit ihren Messern eine so grosse Menge niedergestreckt haetten...". Widukind in Gundlach, p. 76.

5. *duritiam*: the word used in this sense is cited for Cato, Plaut., Ter., Ov., Silver and Late writers. With the idea of "harshness" as expressed here, cf. Suet. *Claud.* 14, "*duritia lenitasve multarum (legum)*"; Tac. *Hist.* 1.23, "*duritia imperii*".

6. *Oodonis...ducis*: Duke Otto the Illustrious, son of the

Liudulf who established the monastery of Candersheim.
Cf. outline in Intro. p. 8.

7. *Henricus*: Henry the Fowler.

9-18. Poole, in Bury's *C. M. H.* vol. 3. p. 186, concerning Henry, says, "The chroniclers of the period are unanimous in their praises of Henry's character and achievements. He was a just and fair sighted statesman, a skillful and brave general; with foreigners and enemies he was stern and uncompromising, but to his own countrymen he was a lenient and benevolent ruler. In his own day Henry was recognized as the founder of a new realm".

Thompson, *M. A.* vol. 1. pp. 373-375, is less favorably inclined toward Henry.

12. *praeminet*: for *prae-eminet*.

11-13. *qualiter...reges...praeminet excedit...huius carminuli textum...*: indirect question of fact introduced by *qualiter*; regarding its use in Hrotsvit, Newnan, p. 163, maintains that out of the 98 uses, 84 employ the subjunctive, 12 the indicative, and 2 the infinitive; *excedo* is listed among the verbs taking the indicative

17. *pacificus*: this word is comparatively rare before Late Latin, being found especially in the Vulgate, where it is used both as an adj. and as a subst. in the masc. or neut. pl. The word occurs also in verse 731.

20-21. *denos...annos necnon bis ternos*: i. e. 16 years; in reality the time was more than 17 years, from April 14, 919, to July 2, 936.

22. *Mathilda*: Heinrich, p. 135, commenting on the accounts given in Migne, 159.156; and Eckenstein, p. 210, assert that the letters of St. Matilda, wife of Henry, to St. Anselm show acquaintance with the

writings of Cicero, Quintilian, and Fabius, besides those of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and Gregory the Great.

30. *rexissent*: apparently for *regerent*. While in general Hrotsvit uses the various tenses just as they are employed in Classical Latin, some examples (which will be noted as they occur) of shifting of tenses give evidence that the author pays less attention to exactness in the use of the tenses than was the rule in the Classical period. Late Latin was often affected by the phonetic falling together of various tense forms, and the analogy of such forms as had fallen together sufficed to weaken the distinction of tenses in such forms as were not affected by the phenomenon of phonetics. Cf. L-Hof. pp. 552-565.
32. *binis regnanti subiectis scilicet uni*: i. e. Otto alone was king; Henry and Bruno were his vassals.
- 33-43. Concerning the character of Otto I, Poole, in Bury's *C. M. H.*, vol. 3. p. 186, states, "Otto (b. 912) came to the throne in the full vigor and idealism of youth; he was possessed of a high sense of honor and justice, was stern and passionate, inspiring fear and admiration rather than love among his subjects; he was ambitious in his aspirations and anxious to make the royal power felt as a reality throughout Germany".
38. *congruus*: a relatively rare adjective before Late Latin; it is cited for Plaut., Apul., Itala, Hier., Vulg., Heges., Amm., et al.
- defuncto patre*: the past participle used absolutely (without *vita*), equivalent to *mortuus* becomes frequent in Silver and Late Latin; cf. K-Schm. 1.407. Tac. *Ann.* 1.1. "Defuncto Marcello"; Ibid. 1.7. "Defuncto Augusto". This usage occurs also in *Gest.* 78, 128, 481, 485; *Prim.* 464.
41. *possidet ut*: apparently this is an example of the use of *ut* with the indicative in a result clause; another instance of the same use occurs in *Gest.* 91. Examples of this usage in several Late authors are mentioned in L-Hof. p. 760. There is, however, a possibility of construing it as, "as he took possession".

44. *gentes...feroces*: the Hungarians.

45. *ecclesiam*: besides the congregation of the faithful as a whole or in a given place, the word also denotes the building dedicated to Divine Worship. In the historical poems, Hrotsvit employs it 11 times in the latter sense, 5 times in the former. Cf. Intro. p. 15 for the use of Greek words.

46. *Henricus*: Henry, Duke of Bavaria, father of the Abbess Gerberga II.

53. *Brun*: became St. Bruno, Bishop of Cologne.

60. *aula*: chiefly Poetic, though used occasionally in prose; referring to the palace of the Caesars, but here Hrotsvit employs it to refer to the "courts or palace" of heaven; elsewhere she uses it in the former sense.

63-64. *Christus...ipsi dona dedit tantae praeclara sophiae, quod non est illo penitus sapientior ullus...*: an actual clause of result often takes the indicative; cf. Note, 41; also Newnan, p. 155. The interchange of *ut* with *quod* is discussed fully in K-Steg. 2.2.269-276.

67. *famoso*: cf. note *Prolog.* 2.20.

69. *vitae calidas sospes dum carperet auras*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.387-388, "aures vitales carpis".

70. *primogenito*: A Late Latin word cited for Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 7.9.15, "populus primogenitus". The word occurs too in line 129.

74. *trans mare...transmisit*: Newnan, p. 130, lists this as the only example in Hrotsvit's works of a preposition repeated with the accusative.

78. *patre defuncto*: cf. note 38.

patre: Eadwardo.

79. *fratre*: Aethelstano.

80. *quem peperit regi consors...*: Aethelstan, son of Edward's first wife, Egwine, and Edith, daughter of the second wife, Aelfeda; cf. Pfund, p. 34.
82. *mulier generis inferioris*: Gundlach, p. 339, commenting on this passage and others of a similar character referring to a marriage between one of higher rank and one of an humbler station, calls attention to the fact that Hrotsvit must have been of the nobility or this theme would have interested her less.
83. *scriptito*: a Ciceronian verb, frequentative of *scribo*, cited also for Plin. *Ep.*, and later writers. This is the only occurrence of the word in the Epics.
87. *serena*; an epithet belonging to queenliness and to diety, especially Jupiter, whose brow was always serene. Hence, Martial calls Domitian "Iovem serenum", Mart. 5.6.9; 9.25.3. Vergil to express the same idea used *placidum*; cf. *Aen.* 1.127, "Neptunus... placidum caput extulit".
88. *rutilabat*: a rare verb derived from an adjective, found in Early Latin, rarely in the poets and Silver Latin, but frequently in Late Latin. It is cited for Acc. *frag.*, Verg., Min. Fel., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.
- 91-92. *ut fore iudicio plebis decernitur omnis optima cunctarum ut...decernitur*, result clause with indic. cf. note 41; *fore* = *esse*, cf. Wiegand, p. XXI.
- 96-97. *Oswaldi regis...*: St. Oswald, the King, was martyred August 5, 642. Cf. Pfund, p. 35.
98. *at*: a resumptive particle to bring us back to the narrative; cf. *ceterum* in Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and later writers: Liv., 22.36.6, "Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent,..."; Ibid. 1.36.6; 3.71.6; *passim*.
98. *missi*: a participle used substantively; already in Sallust the frequency of the substantive use of adjectives and participles is noted, and from Livy on this usage is extended to all genders, numbers, and cases. Hrotsvit shows freedom in this regard too. The same word and use occurs in *Gest.* 518.

105. *menti instillaret*: the only elision noted in the historical poems of two vowels; cf. Intro. p. 35, for metrical study.
115. *famosi*: cf. note in *Prol.* 2.20.
118. *Eadit*: note the various spellings; cf. verses 77, 398.
120. The marriage of Otto I and Edith took place in 929.
- 123-124. *populus...exortans prolongari vitam...*: Liudulf died September 6, 957. He had been appointed Duke of Swabia by his father, Otto I.
127. Henry the Fowler, died July 2, 936.
128. Otto I was crowned emperor July 31, 936.
- defuncto*: cf. note 38.
134. *praeclleret*: a Silver Latin word cited for Tac., Sil., Vulg., and Late writers; cf. Aug. *Civ.* 16.154.22, "quae tunc praecllebant".
144. *gentiles*: in the Christian sense of "heathen", or "pagan", as employed here, it is cited for Tert., Prud., Hier., Vulg., et al.
149. *caelestis...regis*: A Classical word used in a Christian sense; Tertullian is the first author to associate the word *caelestis* with the ideas pertaining to the Christian God; cf. Tert. *Anim.* 3, "definitiones caelestes id est dominicas"; cf. T.L.L. 3.69.48; 3.71.4. The word occurs frequently in *Prim.*
151. *sua...iussa*: *sua* for *eius*: an extended use of the reflexive adjective; Classical prose regularly uses *suus* only when the possessor is the subject. Colloquial speech, however, in all periods made some use of this word when the possessor was the object or related to the object. This free use occurs frequently in Nepos and Livy and especially in Late Latin. Cf. L-Hof. p. 470.
152. *idem*: seems to be used merely to refer to something which has been previously mentioned. It may here be

regarded as the equivalent of *is*. The use shows a weakening of the concept of identity; this weakening began in the Classical period, and in many Late Latin authors *idem* is a mere substitute for *is*. Cf. L-Hof. p. 479. This usage is common in Hrotsvit.

156. *iunxit*: relatively rare in the sense "to unite in marriage"; cited for Ov., Liv., Curt., Hist., Aug. and later writers; Hrotsvit employs it, together with its compound *coniungo*, in this sense 6 times.

163. *O quam tranquillum*: accusative of exclamation: cf. note 221.

168. *aligenorum*: frequent in Classical Latin, especially in Cicero, in the sense of "foreigner", "stranger". Here it might be construed in the sense of *gentiles*, a word confined to Scripture and Eccl. writers.

175. *devovit*: more correctly the pluperfect; for shifting of tenses cf. note 30.

173-185. Hrotsvit depicts Henry as taken prisoner by the soldiers in a nocturnal siege, while historians show that Thankmar himself, Henry's half-brother, led him into captivity. Cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 188.

176. *Evrhardo*: Eberhard, brother of King Conrad, who was the predecessor of Henry the Fowler.

181. *Baduliki*: Belecka on the Möhne, south of Lippstadt; this event occurred in 938. Cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 188.

186. *innumerosas*: adjectives with the suffix "osus" abound in colloquial and Late Latin, partly because of the sonorous character of the suffix and partly because of the ease with which it could be attached to nouns and adjectives alike, and at times even to verbs. This adjective is cited for Iuv., Hil., Cass., and later writers. Cf. Intro. p. 15.

192-193. For Scriptural allusion cf. *Gen.* 14.14-16.

189-194. According to historians, Otto I does not rescue his brother Henry directly, but only indirectly.

197-198. *ferre...refovere*: infinitives expressing purpose; the use of the infinitive to express purpose is strictly avoided in Classical prose, but occurs, chiefly with verbs of motion, in Early prose and in poetry of all periods. Its revival in prose begins with Valerius Maximus. Cf. L-Hof. p. 580.

200-201. For parallel thought cf. lines 334-335.

202-227. For a detailed account of this revolt cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 188-190; Thompson, *M. A.* vol. 1. p. 377.

Historians agree that Henry of his own accord took part in this civil strife; some even term him the instigator of it. The poet, however, evidently for Cerberga's sake, shields the baseness of her father, Duke Henry.

The incident of Eberhard's exile and restoration to favor, and the fact that Henry, Eberhard, and Gilbert had designs on the throne are vouched for by historians.

207. *remeabat*: a relatively rare verb before late Latin, cited for Plaut., Cic., Verg., Hor., Liv., Sen. Phil., Plin. *Nat.*, Tac., Apul., Ambr., and Late writers; cf. Aug. *Civ.* 22.597.24, "totus ille limus in totum vas nulla sui perdita parte remearet".

209. *Gislerhto*: Gilbert, Duke of Lorraine.

220-227. Commenting on this passage Gundlach, p. 418, says: "Im Gegensatz zu Widukind, welcher unverhohlen die Initiative zu dem Bruderkriege Heinrich beimisst, macht Hrosvitha Eberhard und Ciselbert fuer den Hochverrat verantwortlich und stellt Heinrich lediglich als den Verfuehrten hin, welcher sein Einverstaendniss vermutlich nur vorgegeben habe--es ist dies die schreiendste Gewalt, welche Hrosvitha unter der Noetigung ihrer hoefischen Auftraggeber der Geschichte anthut!"

221. *pro dolor*: nominative in exclamation; Early Latin shows occasional uses of the nominative to express an exclamation. Examples from Plautus, Ennius, and Terence are cited by Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, 2.4. This usage continues throughout the Classical period and into Silver and late Latin, though the accusative is more frequently employed. In the

Historical Epics just one example, *Gest.* 163, of the accusative of exclamation has been noted, while the above expression occurs 5 times; *Gest.* 221; *Prim.* 283, 364, 472. 535.

226. *sperabant regem populos olim dominantem*: an extension of direct object not normal in classical usage; *dominor* (classical in with abl. or acc.). Cf. Newnan, p. 131.

244. *coenobii*: A Greek loan word found only in Late Latin; it is cited for Hier., Cassian., Avell., Sidon., Bened. *Reg.*, Isid., et al. The word occurs frequently in *Prim.* cf. Intro. p. 15.

245-251. Regarding this arrangement of lines Strecker suggests: "245 sq. ordo versuum perturbatus transponendo restitui videtur". Barack and Pertz, however, retain the consecutive arrangement. Strecker's order seems the more readily translatable.

249. *quis posse dedit sapientia mentis*: substantive use of the infinitive *posse*.

252-255. For Scriptural allusion cf. *Reg.* 1.20.

256. *milite*: employed here collectively for "soldiery"; this usage is especially frequent in Silver and Late Latin: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.2, "ubi militem donis, populum annona...pellexit"; Juv. 10.155, "nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas frangimus"; *passim* in Livy, et al.

256-296. The Siege of Breisach which occurred in 939; for full treatment cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 188-190.

271-275. For Scriptural allusion cf. *Sam.* 2.24.17, "Dixit David ad Dominum, cum vidisset Angelum caedentem populum: Ego sum qui peccavi, ego inique egi: isti, qui oves sunt, quid fecerunt: vertatur, obsecro, manus tua contra me et contra domum patris mei".

276. *miserans*: as employed here with the acc. is the only occurrence in Hrotsvit's works; cf. Newnan, p. 119; cf. too, note 369.

281. *speravere suis constringendum fore vinclis*: passive periphrastic construction instead of the future infinitive; a variant reading may be "the hope that he should be", in which case the construction would be normal.

283. *Udo*: Duke of Wetterau.

285-287. For a full treatment of this revolt and its results cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 188-190.

285. *luctamine*: a word rarely used before Late Latin; it is cited only for Verg., Anthem., Claud. Cf. *Aen.* 8.89, "remo ut luctamen abesset". The word occurs in *Gest.* 317.

287. *Gisilberhtus...mergitur undis*: in speaking of this incident, Poole, in Bury's *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 190, says, "According to one account he got into a boat already overloaded with fugitives, and the boat capsized; according to another he leapt with his horse into the river and so met his end".

289. *quidni*: pleonastic use; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 3.7.5, "quidni? qui apud te educatus"; Catul. 79.1; 89.1; Sen. *Ep.* 52.10, "quidni? non permittam?"; K-Steg. 2.2.496. The same usage occurs in line 334 and *Prim.* 344. Krotsvit is fond of inserting particles *metri causi*.

302. *libro...Salominis*: Prov. 11.8, "Justus de angustia liberatus est; et tradetur impius pro eo".

305. *demulcendo*: a Late Latin verb cited for Vita Cypr., Gell., Tert., Lact., Hier., Ambr., Iuvenc., Ennod., et al. Without the compound "de" it is a Poetic, Silver, and Late verb. This is the only instance of the compound verb noted; without "de" it occurs in *Gest.* 216; *Prim.* 297, 422.

317. *luctamine*: cf. note 285.

325. *diem paschae sanctum*: this was Easter Sunday, April 18, 941, at Quedlinburg. For full account cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 195-196.

paschae: a Semitic loan word meaning "Easter", it is

cited for Tert., Cypr., Symm., Hier., Aus., Vulg., et al. It is usually neuter, but regularly follows the genitive of the first declension. Cf. K-Schm. 2.252; Neue-Wagener, 1.866, 968.

328. *paschalis*: an adjective formed from the above noun.

329. *holocaustum*: a Greek loan word cited for Tert., Prud., Vulg., et al. Cf. Prud. *Apoth.* 537, "at tua congestae tumulant holocausta ruinae". Cf. too, Intro. p. 15. The word occurs in *Mar.* 443.

334. *quidni*: cf. note 289.

336-353. Henry was a prisoner at Ingelsheim and fled from there reaching Frankfurt on Christmas night 941. Cf. Pfund, p. 43 note; also Hrotsvit and Widukind in Cundlach, pp. 425-428.

344-345. *praesentare...se...praesumebat*: cf. Intro. p. 17, Hrotsvit exhibits a great fondness for words compounded with "prae".

353. *obsequiis*: employed here in the Late Latin sense of "service", or "worship"; for this use it is cited for Capit., Veg., Vulg.; --"deference" or "respect", Ov., Silver. The plural form of this substantive with a singular meaning is cited only for Curtius, and Plancus in Cic. *Ep.* 10.11.3, before Silver and Late Latin. Georges. Cf. Intro. p. 14.

sollempniter: cited for Liv., Plin., Amm., Harpers' Georges.

355. *velamine*: cited for Verg., Ov., Iuv., Sen. Phil., Tac. before Late Latin. It recurs in *Prim.* 44, 96, 322; *Mar.* 308; *Theoph.* 302; *Bas.* 31; *Agn.* 10; *Abr.* 7.2.

356. *hymnos*: A Greek loan word found in Sen. frg., but otherwise Late Latin and cited for Lact., Ambr., Vulg., Prud., Aug., et al. Its use is mostly confined to the Eccl. writers, by whom it is used in the sense of a "song of praise to God". In this sense Hrotsvit employs it in *Asc.* 88,95; *Gong.* 479; *Pe lag.* 301,354,379; *Theoph.* 225; *Agn.* 417; *Dulc.* 3.1; *Prim.* 176,389. Cf. Intro. p. 15.

369. *miserans fratri*: *miseror* as used here with the dative is the only instance of its kind found in Hrotsvit's works; cf. Newnan, p. 119; note 276.

372-375. Authentically Otto I did not give this to Henry until after the death of Count Berthold, November 23, 948; thus only seven years after the reconciliation. Cf. Pfund, p. 44.

374. *famosae*: cf. note *Prol.* 2.20. *Intro.* p. 15.

378. *Avares*: The Hungarians; for full account of Henry's conquests of. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 195, 198.

saepissime: equivalent to *bis*.

398. *Aedit praesentis vitae discessit ab horis*: Edith died about January 25, 946; cf. Pfund, p. 45 note. Note *horis* for *oris* a Late confusion for the use of "h"; the same usage occurs in 623, 629; *Mar.* 644.

404. *dominatricis*: a late Latin word cited for Tert., Aus., Hier., and later writers. It occurs in *Prim.* 421, 460.

405. *requiem*: used here in the Christian sense of "rest" after death. The word occurs in this sense in *Prim.* 560.

406. *retro reparatam*: a *lectio varians* of Strecker suggests "*retro secula parata*,"; here *secula* would mean "reward" as in *Pelag.* 341, and would be in apposition with *laetitiam*. But the text is possible as it stands.

407. *praestari citius iam non dubitaverit ullus*: *non* rather than *quin* is the more usual construction after verbs or phrases of doubt; cf. Newnan, p. 156.

417. *tumulus*: in the sense of sepulchral mound, site of burial, is cited for Cic., Verg., Ov., Liv., Tac., and Suet. before Late Latin. The word occurs in *Prim.* 553, 579.

418. *supra paucis*: refers to verses 121-123.

425. *pro meritis...utriusque parentis*: for *pro* cf. note *Pref.* 46.

utrius parentis: Otto I and Edith.

427. *erga:* employed here in the Classical usage namely, to express feelings and relations (esp. in a friendly sense) towards persons and things personified. From Tacitus on we find it employed in general of every kind of mental relation to a person or thing; cf. Tac. *Ann.* "erga pecuniam alienam diligentia". This usage becomes more extended among Eccl. writers and in later legal diction; cf. K-Steg. 2.1.541; L-Hof. 520.

436-437. *praepaucula...verbula:* seems to be employed with the real diminutive force; few of Hrotsvit's diminutives are thus used. Cf. Intro. p. 15.

442. *sublimavit:* a verb relatively rare before Late Latin; it is cited for Cat., Apul., Fest., Iul. Val., Aur., Vict., Marc., Hier., and later writers.

443. *dominari:* a Ciceronian verb derived from a noun, but comparatively infrequent until the Late Latin period; for its use with the genitive as employed here, cf. Lact. *Ira*, 14.3, "Omnium rerum", and other Late writers. Elsewhere Hrotsvit uses *dominari* with the dative, cf. Newnan, p. 120.

447. *Conrado:* Conrad the Red, Duke of Lorraine; this marriage took place in 947. Cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 191; Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 361.

453. *primates:* a Late Latin noun cited for Apul., Amm., Vulg. et al. cf. Aug. *Conf.* 6.7.11, "(Alypius ortus erat) parentibus primatibus municipalibus".

454. *iungi:* cf. note 156.

455. *Idam:* daughter of Count Herman of Swabia; this marriage too occurred in 947. Cf. reference in note 447, also Gundlach, pp. 430-431.

459. *propriae:* equivalent to *suae*; cf. note *Prolog.* 2.33.

veneratur: employed here with the passive significance;

cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.257.25; Ambr. *Ep.* 17.1; Mar. 387. "Nonne Deus...veneratur".

462. *idem*: cf. note 152 for the use of *idem*.

467. *Hlotharius*: Lothar died November 22, 950; cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 194; Pfund, p. 47.

471. *Rothulfi*: Rudolph II of Upper Burgandy; cf. Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 380.

474. *nobilitas*: the German translation of this is "Adel" or "Adelheit"; cf. Pfund, p. 47; also *Sap.* 3.6.12.

Aethelheitham: note the spelling; the interchange of *ae* with *e* is common in Hrotsvit as are other inconsistencies in spelling to accommodate the metre. Here the *ae* is short, hence it apparently is nothing other than short *e*. Quantities of proper names vary greatly in Late and Medieval Latin poetry.

479. *rexisse*: for *regere*; the poets of all periods employed at times the perfect (as an aoristic "infinitive" in imitation of the Greek aorist infinitive) in place of the present, partly for metrical reasons. The usage in prose begins with Livy. Many Silver and Late prose authors used the perfect quite freely in place of the present, chiefly in striving for prose rhythm. Cf. L-Hof. pp. 591-592.

481. *defuncto*: cf. note 38; also line 485.

483. *propriis*: cf. note *Prol.* 2.33.

484. *ditioni*: for the more common form *dicioni*; this word according to Harpers' occurs only in the gen., dat., acc., and abl. sing., and in the plural once. Georges rejects the dat. sing. The word occurs in verse 684; *Prim.* 80, 154, 179.

481-486. For a full treatment of this section cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 194-195, *passim*; Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 380; Duruy, p. 194.

486. (*devenit*) suggested by Strecker; Pfund. p. 48, translates the missing word "fell into". A *lectio varians*

reads *deflevit*: this is not so readily rendered.

regis...Hugonis: Hugh of Arles, also Marquess of Provence, father of Lothar, who had married the mother of Adelaide, Lothar's wife, after the death of her own father Rudolph II. Cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 140, *passim*.

494. *aulae*: cf. note 60.

501. *obsequiis*: used here in the sense of "deference", or "respect", cf. note 353, also Intro. p. 14.

506. *sua iussa*: cf. note 151

508. *propriam*: cf. note *Prolog.* 2.33.

510. *Adelheit* or Adelaide was imprisoned at Como, April 20, 951.

512. For Scriptural allusion cf. *Act.* 12.3-11.

516. *Praesul Adhelhardus*: Bishop of Reggia. *Praesul* is variously used by Hrotsvit; in *Gest.* 582 and *Prim.* 392, she employs it as here, an epithet of a bishop; in *Prim.* 156, 162, as an epithet for pope; in *Prim.* 365, for civil leader. *Praesul* in the sense of "protector", or "ruler" as may be the general connotation here, is Late Latin and is cited for Pall., Sid., Aus. Originally the word was used to designate the leader of the *Salii* in the annual religious dance of that priesthood. Gradually it came to be applied to an important figure or leader in any organization or movement, but only occasionally, and in Late authors (e.g. in Ausonius, *praesul senatus*). In the fourth and fifth centuries the Christians took over the word and used it in a variety of meanings. Finally Pope Gelasius employed it especially to designate a pope (*Avitus*, *Epist.* 70.9, had already used it thus) or bishop, and from him this usage passed to later writers. Cf. K-Schm. 2.367; Archiv. 12.7-8.

518. *missum*: used substantively; cf. note 98.

533. *solummodo*: cf. note in *Pref.* 44.

534. *presbiterum*: a Greek loan word found frequently in Eccl. Latin. Cf. Intro. p. 15.

535. *ubi...narraret*: Hrotsvit uses *ubi* with the subjunctive almost interchangeably with *cum*. It is found with present, imperfect, and pluperfect subjunctive, and is used in both the circumstantial and adversative senses. Cf. Newnan, p. 157.

In this and the following passages the influence of Ekkehard's *Waltharilied* upon this epic of Hrotsvit is very evident; cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 231-232, "*queritur Waltharius cum virgine de exilio*".

537. Cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 246, "*fidem votis sequare per omnia cautus*".

540. Note the echo from Ekkeh. *Walth.* 274, "*deinde ei exponit, quomodo fugere possint et qui fugientibus opus sit*".

541-543. Cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 275, "*Haec intro ebdomodam caute per singula comple*".

544. *advenit...nox*: August 20, 951; cf. Pfund, p. 50. Cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 288, "*Praefinita dies epularum venit*".

545. Cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 320, "*Huni, vi potus pressi somnoque gravati passim porticibus sternuntur humotenus omnes*".

546-549. Cf. the flight of Adelaide with that of Walter and Hildegund; Ekkeh. *Walth.* 324-327, "*iam Waltharius cum puella fugit...omni nocte quidem properabant currere*".

550-555. The concealment of Adelaide with that of the lovers is, likewise, an echo from Ekkeh. *Walth.* 359-360, "*sed cum prima rubens terris ostendit lumine Phoebus, in silvis latitare student et opaca requirunt*".

556. *obtegit*: (collat. form *obtigit*) present indic; note the quantity of the penult. Cf. Intro. pp. 32-33.

555-557. Cf. Ekkeh. *Walth.* 400-402, "*deinde secunda nocte per amica silentia euntes suspectam properant post terga relinquere terram*".

563. *dinoscere*: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.29, "Impransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste"; 2.2.44, "Scilicet ut vellem curvo dignoscere rectum".
566. Cf. the anger of Berengar with that of Attila in Ekkeh. *Walth.* 380, "Attila autem cognita re nimia succenditur efferus ira".
582. *Praesul*: cf. note 516.
585. *sibi*: the use of the reflexive referring to a word which is not a grammatical subject of the main clause. In this example, however, the person indicated by the reflexive may be regarded as the logical subject. Classical prose sometimes used a reflexive under such circumstances, but Late Latin was more free in the use of the reflexive; cf. L-Kof. p. 470.
590. *gustaverunt*: a relatively rare verb used here in the transferred sense of "enjoy"; it is cited for Plaut., Cic., Lucr., Hor., Laber., Tert., Itala, and later writers; cf. Aug. *Civ.* 21.534.11, "non enim gustaverunt eam".
- 591- *quando per Italiam coeperunt pergere Roman*: an instance where the generic term is replaced by the simple accusative of the place name; cf. Newnan, p. 129.
- 595-596. *nullam...dignam...tectam sub...thalamis...duci*: the accusative with *sub* instead of *in* to express place whither occurs rarely; cf. Newnan, pp. 128-129.
600. *coniungeret*: cf. note 156.
602. For full account cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 194-195; Guggenberger, vol. 1. p. 210.
- 604-607. Berengar had fled from King Henry's persecution in 941 and was brought back to his country through German assistance in 945; cf. Pfund, p. 52.
615. The campaign was rather unsuccessful on account of the intrigues of Henry, the brother of Otto I. Hrotsvit is silent here, because Gerberga, her abbess, was the daughter of this Henry. Cf. Pfund, p. 52; *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 195.

617. *discrimina tanta*: cf. *Aen.* 3.629, "...nec talia passus Ulixes oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto"; 10.529, "vertitur aut anima una debet discrimina tanta".

621. *plebis non parva propriae comitante caterva*: cf. *Aen.* 2.4, "Primus ibi ante omnis, magna comitante caterva"; 2.370, "Primus se. Danaum magna comitante caterva".

620-636. For the historical account of these events cf. Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 380; Duruy, p. 194; *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 194-195.

623. *horas*: for *oras*; cf. note 398. The same usage and word occurs in 629.

624. *obstupefactus*: a compound of *stupefacere*, a Ciceronian verb comparatively rare; it is cited for Cic., Liv., Sil., Prop., Sen. Rhet., Luc. Val., et al.

628. *famosus*: cf. note *Prol.* 2.20.

630. Otto I reached Pavia, September 23, 951; cf. Pfund, p. 53.

652. *cuneis*: this word has undergone a semantic change in Late Latin; as used here in the sense of "a number of men or things", it is cited for Decl. in Catil., Symm., Vulg., et al.; -Classical, "wedge" or "line of battle in the form of a wedge".

671. On the contrary, Liudulf returned of his own accord and because of some dissatisfaction. Friedrich of Mainz accompanied him in December 951; cf. *Widukind*, in Cundlach, pp. 513-518; *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 195-196.

parens...parentis: this, perhaps, may be considered an example of parachesis, a similarity of sound through several syllables of words differing in root but alike enough to make the similarity striking--word play.

677. *obsequiis*: cf. note 353; Intro. p. 14.

678. *solummodo*: cf. note, *Pref.* 44.

684. *primates*: cf. note 453.

propriae: cf. note, *Prol.* 2.33.

693. *Altithrono*: cf. note, *Prol.* 2.3.

700. ...*ut Ottoni venit se subdere regi: venit*, indicative in a result clause with *ut*; in subordinate clauses among late Latin writers, the indicative and subjunctive occur at times apparently without distinction, but no example of the result clause with the indicative was noted in either L-Hof. p. 763, or K-Steg. 2.2.242-244.

subdere: infinitive used to express purpose, cf. note 197-198.

701-703. Historians in general agree that Otto I. was very reluctant to forgive Berengar and that only after waiting for three days did he allow him to come into his presence; cf. Gundlach, p. 428, note 2; *C.M.H.* vol. 3. p. 195.

719. *Ottoni culpa meritum reputari*: a rare construction; dative of tendency or purpose; the only instance in Hrotsvit of a double dative; cf. Newnan, p. 122.

720. *primates*: cf. note 453.

721. *mox ut*: equivalent to the Classical *ut primum*; the usage of *mox ut* is called colloquial, but it occurs at times in all Classical authors with the exception of Caesar; cf. L-Hof. p. 759. This is the only instance noted of *ut mox*, but *mox* occurs frequently in Hrotsvit.

722. An echo of Ekkeh. *Walth.* 380; cf. note 566.

727. *decore sui florente per omnia regni: sui* equivalent to *eius*; cf. note 151; note, too, the use of the genitive with the neuter plural adjective. This use is rare but effective when it does occur; cf. Newnan, p. 121.

731. *pacificum...regnum*: cf. note 17.

732. *quantocius*: a compound adverb found only in Late Latin; it is cited for Commod., Iact., Vulg., Claud. Mam., Col., Theod., Cassian., Supl. Sev., et al.

735. *famosi*: cf. note *Procl.* 2.20.

735-737. *ut cognovit...quanto...dilexit amore Henricum*: indirect question of fact introduced by *quāto* and having the verb *dilexit*, in the indicative: cf. note 11-13.

745-746. *pertimuit...quod...non uti donis deberet honoris*: a substantive clause of fear introduced by *quod*; cf. Newnan, p. 151.

748-749. Since Liudulf died in 957, about sixteen years before his father, Otto II, son of Otto I and of Adelaide, succeeded to the throne. Whether or not this would have happened had Liudulf lived cannot be definitely stated.

751. *serenus*: cf. note 87.

752-1141. The lost portion evidently covers the period of the civil war caused by the uprising of Liudulf against his father. Poole, in Bury's *C.M.H.* vol. 3, p. 195, in speaking of the causes of this revolt says, "It was not only disappointment at his failure in Italy that caused Liudulf to rebel against his father. Otto's second marriage was not likely to be to his son's advantage; it would lead to a new circle at the court in which he would take a secondary place: he might even look to being ousted from the succession by the offspring of this new alliance--an event which in fact occurred, for it was Adelaide's son, Otto II, who was designated as the successor to the total disregard of the claim of his nephew and namesake, the son of Liudulf".

For other references regarding this event cf. Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1, pp. 380-381; Cundlach, pp. 494-513.

1111. Here ends the report of Liudulf to his father, Otto I. Liudulf, whom we learn has been pardoned, to show his sincere repentance had undertaken the conquest of Italy, in gratitude for which his father made him regent of Italy. Or as stated in *M.G.H.* vol. 4, p. 333, "conclusio

legationis vel epistolae Liudulfi victoris, ex Iangobardia patri missae, cuius argumentum ex Ottonis responso discere licet".

1145. *saeclum saeculi*: cf. note 1.

1147. *karissime*: note the spelling; another instance of the use of "k" for "c" occurs in verse 1167.

1151. *proprii*: cf. note *Prol.* 2.33.

1159. *iuramento*: a Late Latin word cited for Itala, Ulp. Hier., et al. The word occurs in verses 1162, 1192.

1163. *obsequium*: cf. note 353.

1165-1166. *parentis, coniugis*: Otto I and Ida, wife of Liudulf.

1167. *karae*: elsewhere Hrotsvit uses "c" for *carae*: cf. note 1147.

1168. *prolis geminae*: Otto and Matilda; cf. *M.G.H.* vol. 4. p. 334.

1169. *quo*: = *ut*; in final clauses the use of *quo* for *ut* without a comparative appears in Plautus, in Sallust (as an archaism), occasionally in Cic., Hor., Ov., and Silver Latin, especially in Tacitus and becomes very common in Late Latin; cf. K-Steg. 2.2.233; L-Hof. p. 787. It should be noted, however, that here the *quo* clause is closely followed by the *ut* clause.

1171. *morulis*: a Late Latin diminutive cited for Apul., Cypr., et al.; cf. Aug. *Conf.* 11.15.20, "(praesens) ita raptim a futuro in praeteritum transvolat, ut nulla morula extardatur"; 11.33.29.

1173. *proprias*: cf. note, *Prol.* 2.33.

1178. *melliflui*: a Late Latin word cited for Chalcid., Avien., Aug., Drac., Cassiod., et al.

1185. *idem*: cf. note 152.

1188-1479. This lacuna evidently discussed the death of Liudulf,

which occurred at Pombia, south of Lake Maggiore on September 6, 957. Then followed the coronation of Otto I by the Pope at Rome as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, and of the crowning of Queen Adelaide at Rome, February 2, 962; cf. *Widukind* in Cundlach, pp. 512-513; Pfund, p. 59; *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp. 160-164.

1479. *aeque*: = *aeque ac* Otto; cf. *M.G.H.* 4.334.

ferens: "scilicet Aethelheidis unacum Ottone Romae imperiali corona redimenta"; cf. *M.G.H.* 4.334.

1479-1482. These verses conclude the account of the coronation.

1480. *famosi*: cf. note, *Prol.* 2.20.

1482. *augusto summo*: Otto I, or Creat.

1488. *sexu*: cf. note, *Pref.* 39-40.

1494. *conpunctus*: as employed here with the idea, "goaded by the sting of conscience", it is late Latin cited for Sidon., Ennod., Alc. Avit., et al.

1495. *sumum pontificem*: = Pope John XII; for an account of his expulsion from the Papal Throne in 963, cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. pp.162-164; Thomson, *M.A.* vol. 1. pp. 380-381; Cundlach, p. 609.

1498. *alium...dignum*: = Leo VIII.

1505. This was Christmas 967; cf. Pfund, p. 60.

1483-1510. Concerning this section Crump, p. 168, says, "She ~~<Hrotsvit>~~ has brought the great Otto in her narrative to the imperial throne:

'Iactenus Oddonis...(licet tenui musa)...modulando'

Now she sends Berengar into exile with his wife Willa, deposes the Pope and returning to Saxony creates his son 'infantem in cunis', King at Aachen; but these are matters,

Tangere quae vereor...

...nec vili debent sermone revolvi:
...Haec igitur...finem...pono.

O admirable Hrotsvit! Even on the technical side these leonine hexameters repay examination..."

1511. *replicatis*: this word has undergone a semantic change. In the sense of "repeat" as employed here it is cited for Amm., Hier., Claud. Mam., Sidon., Ennod., in the sense of "fold" or "roll back, unfold" for Cato, Cic., Plin. *Nat.*, Quint., Suet.

PRIMORDIA COENOBII GANDESHEMENSIS

PREFACE

The *Primordia*, a companion poem to the *Gesta Ottonis*, begins with a proemium of six verses in which Krotsvit sings the praises of its founders, Liudulf and his son Otto the Illustrious.

Heinrich, p. 11, in her historical survey of canonical institutions, says: "The era known as the Saxon period in the history of canonical institutions in Germany extended from the middle of the ninth until the eleventh century. Religious foundations multiplied with marvelous rapidity in the Saxon territories, 'for the Saxons were quick in realizing the advantages of a close union between religion and the state, and the most powerful and progressive families of the land vied with each other in founding and endowing religious settlements'; cf. too, Eckenstein, p. 11, from whom part of the above is quoted.

1. *primordia Gandeshemensis*: the monastery was founded about 852 or 856, authorities differ; cf. note, *Prim.* 103-105.

gliscit: for the use of *gliscere* cf. *Aen.* 12.9, "Haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno"; *Liv.* 2.23.2, "invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas ascendit".

2. *pandere*: a relatively rare verb in the sense of "to make known" or "to explain" as it seems to be employed here. It is cited for *Lucr.*, *Verg.*, *Hor.*, *Ov.*, *Quint.*, and later writers.

5. *Liudulfus*: was appointed margrave or count of the Saxons by Louis the German. Liudulf was the father of Otto the Illustrious, and the grandfather of Henry the Fowler; cf. *Intro.* p. 8; *Cundlach*, p. 325.

14. *primis...sub annis*: the temporal use of *sub* in the meaning of "during" or "in" as employed here is rare in Classical prose, but frequent in Livy, Celsus, and later writers. Cf. K-Steg. 2.1.570.
16. *comitatum*: employed here with the extended meaning of "office" or "rank" of count, a usage found in Silver and Late Latin; in the sense of "retinue", "escort", it is cited for Cic., Caes., Quint., Suet. The word occurs frequently in Hrotsvit in the latter connotation.
- 28-31. *promeruit...discere...quod sua progenies...possessura foret...decus...*: Indirect discourse expressed with the *quod* clause instead of the accusative with infinitive; cf. note in *Gest. Pref.* 8.
- promeruit*: a Silver Latin verb cited for Plin. *Ep.*, Suet., Apul., Tert., Lact., et al. It occurs as here with the complementary infinitive in verse 57. The complementary infinitive with *meruere* begins with Ov., in poetry, with Va. Max. in prose; cf. K-Steg. 2.1.675.
29. *baptista...beato*: St. John the Baptist; *baptista* is a Greek loan word comparatively common in Late Latin, cited for Vulg., Iuv., Sedul. The form here is a mas. noun of the first declension. *Beato* is frequent and Classical beginning with Ennius particularly in Cic., Sen. Phil., Aug., and Christian writers generally.
- 32-65. Cf. this passage with Alcuin, *Carmen, Poema de Pontificibus et Sanctis*, 1.93-105, in Migne, vol. 101, col. 816:
32. "nocte soporata".
48. "vir stetit ignotus habitu voltuque repente ante oculis iuvenis" (i.e. Oswald).
52. "verbisque affatur amicis".
55. "Deus solatia det tibi certa".
- 62-64. "imperium latum tibi terminat undis".

65. "his dictis, subito discessit ab illo".
- 40-41. *conturbare...praesumpsisset*: pluperfect for imperfect, cf. note *Gest.* 30; *Gest. Pref.* 22; *Intro.* p. 17.
44. *flavicomantis*: a hybrid cited for Prud. cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.3; also Prud. *Apoth.* 495, "armiger e cuneo puerorum flavicomantum".
- 44-48. Eckenstein, pp. 154-155, commenting on the vividness of this picture, suggests that the description of John the Baptist was doubtless inspired by a painting of that saint.
48. *stemma*: employed here in its original meaning of "wreath" or "crown"; the usage occurs in *Agn.* 44, "Filius insignis juvenilis stemmate floris"; *Abr.* 1.5, "...decet stemma virginitatis"; cf. this usage with that of *Gest. Pref.* 3.
53. 'Ne *trepides*: Strecker employs the subjunctive which, although better Latin than the indicative would be, destroys the internal rhyme. Winterfeld, whose text Newnan follows, uses the indicative, *trepidas*, thereby preserving the rhyme. Hence Newnan, p. 148, explaining *trepidas*, speaks of it as an instance of the indicative in prohibition. We have retained the form of Strecker.
- 56-57. *tinguere...promerui*: cf. note, *Prim.* 28-31.
58. *propago*: cf. Ov., *Met.* 2.38, "pignora da, genitor, per quae tua vera propago credor"; 1.60, "illa propago contemptrix superum...et violenta fuit".
63. *terrenorum*: in the sense opposite to *caelestis*, "earthly", or "worldly" as employed here, it is cited for Cyr., Iact., Aug., et al; for "earthen", Cic., Liv., Suet.; for "mortal", Hor. The word used in the transferred sense occurs in *Prim.* 153, 180.
69. *Oddo*: Otto the Illustrious, son of Liudulf, grandfather of Otto I.
70. *Henricum*: Henry the Fowler.

71. *Oddonis*: Otto I, or Great.

80. *ditionis*: cf. note, *Gest.* 484.

83-84. *ad opus coeptum...est convertendus stilus noster*: the future passive participle with the verb "to be" is used to express an action that is "necessary", "proper", or "intended"; the true one is found only occasionally, for it is often weakened into a mere adjective; cf. Newnan, p. 160.

85. *Liudulf*: Duke of Saxony, cf. Intro. p. 8.

86. *foedere legali coniuncta*: cf. note, *Gest.* 156, for the use of *coniuncta*.

94. *ut...construxisset...coenobium*: pluperfect for imperfect; cf. note, *Gest.* 30, for shifting of tenses

coenobium: cf. note, *Gest.* 244.

98. *vacare sui sancti famulamine sponsi*: a verb expressing acts of piety, devotion, or virtue; cf. *Aug. Civ.* 22.630.21, "*vacabitur Dei laudibus*"; 22.634.11; 22.634.17: *famulamine*: one would expect the dative rather than ablative; cf. above quotation.

103-105. Commenting on this passage, Pfund, pp. 6-7, says, "Dieser Ort, wo die erste Klostergründung war, wird Brunesteshusen genannt, der Anfang in den Quedlinburger Annalen in das Jahr 852 gesetzt, aber verbunden mit der Niederlegung der aus Rom erhaltenen Reliquien. Der erste Anfang der Klosterstiftung wird früher anzusetzen sein; das Jahr 852 bezeichnet den Abschluss und demals wurde Hathumoda Aebtissin".

The above statement to some extent accounts for the various dates given by writers concerning the foundation of Gandersheim.

Blashfield, pp. 13-14, speaking of the establishment of this monastery, states: "Its traditions were aristocratic, even imperial, its founder no less a personage than Liudulf, Duke of Saxony, grandnephew of Witukind. The site first chosen for the convent was Brunshausen, but it was soon transferred to the banks of the River

Ganda, where the town of Gandersheim grew up around the abbey".

104. *Gandae*: a river of Burgundy.

105. Cardinal Gasquet in his Intro. to the Plays translated by Christopher St. John, pp. viii-ix. says of this monastery: "The Abbey of Gandersheim,...was founded about 850 by Liudulf, Duke of Saxony, at the request of his wife Oda, a Frankish princess. Although these were what men call 'dark ages', the darkness was comparative. The Saxon court at this time was enlightened, and the Abbeys of Saxony, notably that of Corbei were centres of learning and civilization. Gandersheim was of the 'free abbeys' that is to say its Abbess held it direct from the King. Her rights of overlordship extended for many miles; she had her own law courts, and sent her men-at-arms into the field. In fact, she enjoyed the usual privileges and undertook the usual responsibilities of a feudal baron, and as such had the right to a seat in the Imperial Diet. Coins are extant, struck by the Abbesses of Gandersheim whose portraits they bear".

Carter, *Dub. Rev.* 1933, p. 285, states: "...Its chapel has survived for centuries. Used by the Lutherans since 1557, it was at last restored to Catholic worship. Of old its Abbess was a Prince-Abbess, with the rights of administering justice, of coining money, to a seat in the Imperial Diet, and with the duty of feudal service".

For other accounts of Gandersheim cf. *Ency. Brit.* 10.14; *Tablet*, 159.608.

106. *obsequio*: cf. note, *Gest.* 353, for the use of the word.

109. *sui natam decreverunt Hathumodam*: *sui* for *suam*; for the non-Classical use of *sui* in place of the possessive adjective *suam*, or *suus*; cf. L-Hof. pp. 469-470.

Hathumodam: for an account of her life cf. *Vita Sanctae Hathumodae, Primae Abbatissae Gandesheimensis. Auctore Agio Presbytero et Monache coaevo, Nigne*, 137.1170-1195; *M.G.H.* 4.20.165, 4.21.176-189.

110-117. Heinrich, p. 11, in discussing the Saxon abbeys says: "...Many of their daughters entered these institutions

and added much to their prosperity and renown...Of the six daughters of Duke Liudulf, which are known, not less than five entered the institution of Candersheim"...Krotsvit mentions only three. Regarding these three daughters who became abbesses, Blashfield, p. 13, asserts: "The period of their sway was a comparatively brief one; monastic life was unfavorable to the longevity of those who entered it in their springtime".

111. *puellaris....ovilis*: an adjective replacing the genitive; though the practice of substituting for a noun in the genitive (especially objective or subjective genitive) an adjective derived from that noun occurs in Classical authors, even Cicero, it is chiefly a development of the popular language, and the frequent use of such adjectives, especially of those derived from common nouns, belongs to Late Latin; cf. L.-Hof. p. 397. The same usage occurs in *Prim.* 330,399.

114. *praelatarum*: a general term for religious superiors; the designation of a class of persons by the plural adjective in the proper gender was common in Classical Latin; cf. L.-Hof. pp. 455-457. Greg. M. is cited as the first to use this adjective and participle, respectively, as a noun.

114-115. Hathumoda had been educated at the Abbey of Herford, England.

118. *proprii*: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.33.

119. *almifici...Hludowici*: note spelling; Louis, Emperor of Italy, who ruled from 855-875; cf. *C.M.H.* vol. 3. *passim*.

124. *iuxta velle dei*: substantive use of the infinitive; here it follows a preposition and is accompanied by a dependent genitive. The substantive use of an infinitive with a preposition begins with Cicero's use of infinitives after *inter*. In Late Latin any preposition could be used in this manner; cf. L.-Hof. pp. 577-578. The use of a substantive in the genitive dependent on an infinitive is Late Latin--noted in L.-Hof. p.578, for Mar. Victor, Cassiod., Greg. M. cf. note, *Gest.* 249, for *posse* used as a

substantive. *Velle* as a substantive occurs in *Prim.* 353.-the same usage with the same preposition.

125-126. *papa^f beatus Sergius*: Pope Sergius II, who reigned from 844-847.

134. *peregrinis*: in accordance with the idea of heavenly citizenship, men by Christian and Late writers were regarded as mere *peregrini* upon this earth, and their sojourn here as a *peregrinatio*; cf. *Aug. Conf.* 10.4.6; 9.13.37; *passim*.

151. *tueri*: apparently from *tueo* not *tueor* as it seems to be employed here in the passive sense; cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.38.

153. *terrenorum*: cf. note, *Prim.* 63.

152.155. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, p. 15, in describing a monastery of this period says, "A monastery might depend upon a bishopric whether it was within or without the diocese to which it was attached; it might depend upon another monastery, it might depend upon the king or some other lord, even a foreign sovereign or noble; and finally it might depend immediately upon the pope. Abbeys created by laymen were the hereditary property of the founders' descendants, and their revenues formed part of his estate".

156. *praesul*: cf. note, *Gest.* 516.

159. *congaudeo*: a Late Latin verb cited for *Itala*, *Hier.*, *Cassiod.*, and later writers; cf. *Aug. Civ.* 10.412.10, "qui creatoris sui participatione congaudent".

161-163. *duo rectores fuerant...Praesul Anastasius...et coapostolicus sacer Innocentius eius*: these were apparently St. Anastasius I, the thirty-ninth pope, who ruled from 398 to 401, and St. Innocent I, the fortieth pope, who ruled from 402-417; cf. *Cath. Ency.* 12.273. For an account of their reign cf. *Cath. Ency.* 1.454; 8.11 respectively.

161-165. The Monk Bodo of Klus (near Gandersheim) mentions a separate account of the Lives of Saints Anastasius

and Innocent, by Hrotsvit. This, however, cannot be established and the inference is that extracts from her legends and epics were frequently copied, which in fragmentary form might readily be mistaken for separate legends.

- 161-165. Regarding this account Manitius, 1.630, says, "In einer gewissen Verbindung mit diesem Gedicht hat ein weiteres über das Leben der Päpste Anastasius and Innocentius gestanden, das nach einer allerdings ziemlich späten Nachricht der Hrotsvit zugeschrieben wird. Nämlich nach Primordia 161-172 schenkte Sergius an Liudulf und Oda Reliquien dieser beiden Päpste, und wahrscheinlich gelangten auf demselben oder auf ähnlichem Wege auch die Lebensbeschreibungen beider nach Gandersheim. Sie wurden von Hrotsvit in Verse umgesetzt und scheinen im 16. Jahrhundert noch erhalten gewesen zu sein, und zwar waren sie vor die Primordia gestellt".
162. *praesul*: cf. note, *Gest.* 516.
164. *pastorem Petrum*...: for Scriptural allusion cf. *Io.* 21.15-18.
180. *securum dominorum*: *securum* with the gen.; according to Harpers' *securus* is found in the following constructions: absolute, with *de*, *ab*, gen., or rel. cl. With the gen. as employed here its use is poetical, Silver, and Late prose; Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.350, "*securus amorum*"; Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.17, "*poenae securus*"; Quint. 8.3.51, "*securus tam parvae observationis*"; cf. K-Steg. 2.1.436a.
- terrenorum*: cf. note *Prim.* 63.
183. Strecker and Winterfeld suggest a lacuna here; not so Barack, Pfund, and Pertz. We have disregarded it because a translation without the lacuna is possible.
- 186-187. *cincta collibus umbrosis*: this description accords favorably with that of Eckenstein, p. 154: "It (Gandersheim) was situated on low-lying ground near the River Ganda in Eastphalia and was surrounded by the wooded heights of the Harz mountains".
189. This passage is of special interest in that it affords

a glimpse into the life of the times. The raising of hogs was at that time a thriving occupation and the forests served well for the purpose. Cf. Gundlach, p. 327, note.

193. *sanctorum venerabile festum*: it is interesting to note that the feast of All Saints was commemorated on November 1, as early as 850. The Church had from earliest times celebrated a commemoration of All Martyrs, but it was not until 835 that Pope Gregory IV ordained the feast of All Saints to be celebrated, and he appointed November 1, for its official celebration throughout the entire Church. Cf. *Prim.* 377-382; *Cath. Ency.* 1.315.

194. *post biduum celebrandum*: evidently October 29-30, for the religious celebration of a feast usually began on the eve or vigil of the feast itself, which in this case would be October 31; cf. line 214. For an account of the celebration of the "Eve of Feast", cf. *Cath. Ency.* 5.547.

celebrandum: a Classical word used in the Christian sense of the ceremonies attendant on the preparation of the feast, as employed here; it may also refer to the ceremonies attendant on the conferring of the sacraments; for this usage it is first cited for Tert.

197. *stupefacti*: cf. note, *Gest.* 624.

210. *ut Phoebus radios spargebat ab aethere primos*: for similar expressions cf. Boeth. *Cons.* 2.3.1, "cum polo Phoebus roseis quadrigis lucem spargere coepit"; Lact. *Phoen.* 42, 51, 140.

216. *caelitus*: cf. note, *Gest.* 149.; also verses 246, 248 *Prim.*

218. *cum nebula terras nox texerat atra*: *cum*-temporal with pluperfect indicative; early Latin, especially Plautus, shows the use of the indicative in *cum*-clauses to be almost the rule; Classical and Silver Latin reveal a fluctuation between the indicative and the subjunctive; cf. K-Steg. 2.2.343. The indicative pluperfect, however, which is rare in all periods, is

employed frequently only by Cic., chiefly with an imperfect or pluperfect in the leading clause; cf. Steele, A.J.P. 28.446, (1907).

222. *arboreas umbras*: for parallel expression cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.129, "*cervus et arborea frigus ducebat ab umbra*".

225. *sanctificandum*: a Late Latin word, compound of "*ficare*"; this type of compound verb is particularly characteristic of the Christian Latin and usually has a causative significance. It belonged to the colloquial language and was avoided by the most careful writers. It is, however, used in Late literary Latin, especially by Christians. It is cited for Itala, Vulg., et al., in the sense employed here.

firmabant: employed here in the transferred sense of *affirmare* or *confirmare*; this usage is somewhat rare, but it is found in Cic.; cf. *Lég.* 2.7.16, "*cum intelligat, quam multa firmentur jure jurando*".

228-229. Strecker has interchanged the position of these two verses. Pfund, Barack and Migne, however, do not make this inversion.

231. *faunis monstribus repletum*: the mythological references may be considered indicative of Krotsvit's Classical background.

234. Strecker and Winterfeld suggest a lacuna of two verses; Barack, Pfund, and Migne see no necessity for it.

241. *Abbatissa...Hathumoda*: cf. note, *Prim.* 109.

249. *sensit adesse sui votis promptam misereri*: *misereor* with the dative, cf. Newnan, p. 119; *sui* for *suis* cf. note, *Prim.* 109. *promptam* with inf. cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.16.

For similar expressions cf. *Diony.* 85, "*De summo caeli solio promptum misereri*"; *Agn.* 327, "...*Erranti promptus solito misereri*".

252. A *lectio varians* of Barack suggests: "*monitis exire iubetur*"; this, however, does not seem likely for it

destroys the internal rhyme.

257. *cementariis*: for *caementariis*: cf. Tac. *Germ.* 16.3, "ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus"; Hor. *Carm.* 31.35, "Caementa demittit redemptor".

258. *spiritus almus*: if the expression in this instance may be construed as "Holy Spirit" it is the only passage noted in which Hrotsvit employs *spiritus almus*. Elsewhere she uses *flamine sacro*, or *flamine divino*, cf. *Prim.* 592; *Acs.* 28, 71; *Mar.* 35, 304, 896; *Agn.* 319, 375; *Diony.* 117, 194; *Theop.* 301. The expression, *spiritus almus*, however, occurs frequently in the doxology of hymns; cf. that used for Matins on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception:

Jesu, tibi sit gloria,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre, et almo Spiritu,
In sempiterna saecula.

It is also found in the doxology of the hymn of the Feast of the Holy Innocents, of the Epiphany, *passim*.

262. *praecesserat*: pluperfect for imperfect; cf. note, *Gest.* 30, for the shifting of tenses.

263-266. This passage well illustrates in successive lines the parallelism of use between the present participle and the extended use of the ablative of the gerund; cf. Newman, p. 160, note.

264. *aereos...sulcos*: cf. for similar expressions: *Aen.* 9.803, "aeream coelo nam Iuppiter Irim demisit"; Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.5, "aereas temptasse domos animoque rotundum percurisse polum".

272a. "Et molem terrae circumfodiendo secare", is similar in thought to 272b. Winterfeld suggests that Hrotsvit meant evidently only one of the two lines to remain. Neither Barack nor Pertz has 272a. We, too, have omitted it in the text.

276. *traxisse*: perfect for present infinitive, cf. note, *Gest.* 479.

278. *sacrandi*: a comparatively rare Ciceronian word derived

from an adjective; it is cited for Cic., Verg., Hor., Sen., Mart.; cf. Aug. *Civ.* 2.70.28, "partim sua propria sacrauerunt". The word occurs in 372.

283. *pro dolor*: cf. note, *Gest.* 121.

284. Liudulf died in 856; cf. Pfund, p. 12, note.

288. *ducibus supra memoratis*: Otto the Illustrious and Bruno; cf. Intro. p. 8..

297. *febres*: apparently an unusual use for the word; no instance of this usage has been noted in the lexica.

303. *ditescere*: a relatively rare verb before Late Latin; it is cited for Lucr., Hor., Pers., Poetic and Late writers. It occurs also in 436.

305. *sui natam*: *sui* for *eius*: cf. note, *Gest.* 151.

309. *filius illius*: = Hludowici Germanici (of Louis the German); *M.G.H.* vol. 4. p. 311.

310. *propriae*: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.33.

313. *(consensu)*: a *lectio varians* of Barack reads: "regis praebens proprii senioris".

314. *(maxima)*; Barack suggests *multaque*.

315-317. *Hathumoda...moriens...*: cf. Vita of Agius, 3.533; also note, *Prim.* 109. She died November 29, 874; cf. Pfund, p. 14.

cum gregis undenos curam bis gesserat annos: she ruled from 852 to 874. For *cum* with the indicative cf. note, *Prim.* 218; for *gregis* cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 1.9.

319-360. This episode in the history of Gandersheim, Blashfield, p. 43, suggests, may have determined Hrotsvit's choice of the motif of her maiden play, *Gallicanus*.

320. *Bernrad*: note the spelling; "Bernard" and "Bernhard" are also found.

322. *caelesti*: cf. note, *Gest.* 149.
- 329-330. *audivit...votum quia fecerit ipsa velle...servare pudorem*: Newnan, p. 163, terms this a doubtful case of a *quia*-clause. She maintains that it may be interpreted in two ways: either as indirect statement after *audio*, or as a causal clause. Winterfeld considers it the first.
330. *puellarem...pudorem*: cf. note, *Prim.* 111, for the use of *puellarem*; in this instance, however, the necessity of internal rhyme may have determined its use.
332. *quod...audierat, verum fore...timebat*: a clause of fear introduced by *quod*; cf. note, *Gest.* 745-746; Newnan, p. 151.
338. *causari*: as employed here with the restricted meaning, "to blame" or "complain of", it is Late Latin, cited for Heges., Sulp. Sev., Rufin., Prosp., et al: -- "to feign", "pretend" for Lucr., Verg., Ov., Suet.
- 339-341. *didici...quod tu nitaris nostrum dirumpere pactum*: indirect discourse with *quod*-clause followed by a subjunctive; cf. note, *Prim.* 28-31; Newnan, p. 162.
346. *procul dubio*: = *sine dubio*: *procul* with the ablative is found in Horace; with *dubio*, in Liv., Plin., Suet., et al., cf. Harpers'; K-Schm. 2.389. Cf. Liv. 39.40. 10, "*asperis procul dubio animi, et linguae acerbae, et inmodice liberae fuit*". The expression occurs in *Prim.* 570.
- scito...quod te mihi met sociabo*: cf. note, *Prim.* 28-31, for the *quod*-clause; Newnan, p. 162.
347. *pessumdabo*: Cf. Ter. *And.* 208, "*quae si non astu providentur, me aut erum pessum dabunt*"; Plaut. *Rud.* 2.6. 23, "*exemplum pessimum pessum date*".
349. *iuxta domini...velle*: cf. note, *Prim.* 124, for *velle* used as a substantive.

rogo: as employed here with the extended meaning of "pray", is Late Latin, cited for Hist. Aug., Hier., Alc. Avit., et al. --Classical = to ask, question.

354. *colloquiss mutuo sermone peractis*: cf. Hor. Sat. 2.4.9, "tenui sermone peractas".

359. *caelestis*: cf. note, Gest. 149.

362. *Brun dux*: Duke of Saxony and successor to his father Liudulf. He was killed in a battle with the Normans, not with the Hungarians, in the sixth year of his rule, February 2, 880. Cf. Gundlach, p. 342.

promptus: with infinitive, cf. note, Gest. Prol. 2.16.

364. *pro dolor*: cf. note, Gest. 221, for nominative of exclamation.

365. *praesulibus*: cf. note, Gest. 515, for the use of *praesul*.

366. *propriae*: cf. note, Gest. Prol. 2.33.

367. *suus*: cf. note, Gest. 151.

372. *sacranda*: cf. note, Prim. 278, 383 (line).

377. *sanctificando*: cf. note, Prim. 225.

378. *pluribus*: cf. note, Gest. Prol. 1.5.

The allusion here recalls the incident expressed in Prim. 195-196.

382. *principio mensis...novembris*: this was November 1, 881. Cf. note, Prim. 193, for origin of feast.

385. *optantes diei praesentes esse celebri*: *diei* dative with word compounded with "prae"; cf. Plaut. Most. 5.1.27, "assum praesens praesenti tibi"; Cassiod. *Variae*, 93.2.30, "praesentati autem tribunalibus"; 80.3.7, "tanto regno...praevaluerit". Classical Latin usually requires or prefers a different construction; cf. L-Hof. pp. 410-412.

389. *corporibus sacris*: those of St. Anastasius and St. Innocent. Cf. *Prim.* lines 162-163.
392. *Wicberhtus praesul*: Bishop of Hildesheim; for the use of *praesul*, cf. note, *Gest.* 516.
- 397-398. ...*mansurnis...revolutis*....: Poetic expression for 881 A.D. A similar expression occurs in *Mar.* 682, "*binis mansuris...repletis*".
399. *puellaris...pudoris*: cf. note, *Prim.* 111.
400. *proprium*: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.33.
405. *abbatissa*: cf. note, *Gest. Pref.* 1.
gregem: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 1.9.
407. *congrua*: cf. note, *Gest.* 38.
408. *patrare*: a verb comparatively rare before Late Latin; it is cited for *Lucr.*, *Cic.*, *Sall.*, *Liv.*, *Tac.*, and Late writers.
409. *conversando*: as employed here in the sense of "to live with", "have intercourse with", it is Silver Latin, cited for *Sen. Phil.*, *Colum.*, *Apul.*, and Late writers. Cf. note, *Intro.* p. 16.
411. *dilectio*: a Late Latin word cited for *Itala*, *Tert.*, *Heges.*, *Hier.*, *Vulg.*, *Paul. Nol.*, *Alc. Avit.*, et al. Cf. *Aug. Conf.* 2.2.2, "*ut non discerneretur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis*".
- 410-424. An interesting allusion to the discipline of the monastery at Gandersheim.
421. *dominatricis*: cf. note, *Gest.* 404.
422. *mulcendo*: the word is Poetic, Silver, and Late, and as employed here in the sense of "to soften", or "soothe", it is first cited in prose for *Pliny*. Cf. *Intro.* p. 16. The word occurs, too, in verse 497. Cf. also, *Pafn.* 10.3, "*nunc suavis hortamentis blandiendo mulcebam*".

429. *praepollentis*: a Silver Latin word cited for Liv., App., Tac., and later writers. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 3.138.12, "quibus Romanum maxime praepollebat imperium", *passim*.
432. *propriam*: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.33.
434. *o mea pignora cara*: *pignora* in the sense of "dear one" or "child" occurs in prose only in Silver and Late Latin, Liv., and Tac., being cited by Harpers'; Quint. and Plin. by Georges. In the plural as the equivalent of *liberi*, it is cited first for Ovid. This is the only occurrence in this sense noted in the Epics. Elsewhere the word is used in the sense of "pledge".
435. *primule*: unusual form--diminutive adverb. The final "e" is short here, though usually it would be long. For diminutives and change in quantity of vowel, cf. Intro. pp. 15, 32, respectively. Cf. to, Plaut. *Men.* 5.5.18, "Iam hercle occępat insanire primulum"; Ter. *Ad.* 3.1.2, "modo dolores, mea tu, occipiunt primulum".
444. *proprium*: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.33.
449. *praedia multa*: on January 26, 877.
452. *Arnulfus*: Emperor of Germany (887-899); cf. Thompson, *M.A.* vol. 1. p. 278.
- 458-459. *extollere...sauderet*: cf. Newnan, p. 158, for *suadere* with a complementary infinitive.
460. *dominatrix*: cf. note, *Gest.* 404.
461. *censura*: cf. note, *Gest. Pref.* 44.
464. *defuncto Hludowico*: Louis the Younger, died January 20, 882; cf. Pfund, p. 18. For *defuncto* cf. note *Gest.* 38.
467. *cyrographis*: = *chirographis*, one's own handwriting or signature, as the Greek word implies; hence a signed obligation; used interchangeably with *syngrapha* and *cautio*. The Classical Latin word is *manus*, but *chirographum* also occurs, being a favorite word of Ambrose;

cf. Ambr. *Tob.* 3.10, ... "eum chirographis ligat"; 24.22, "saltem renovetur chirographum". The word occurs frequently in legal terminology. Cf. T.L.L. and DuCange. Hrotsvit uses it only once in the Epics. Cf. Intro: p. 16 for Greek words.

470-473. *Liudgardis regina...e mundo discessit*: November 30, 885; cf. Pfund, p. 19.

472. *pro dolor*: cf. note, *Gest.* 221.

475. *Abbatissa...Gerberg*: daughter of Liudulf and Oda, not the Cerberga of Hrotsvit's day. For *abbatissa* cf. note, *Gest. Pref.* 1.

480. *bis denos binos...annos*: Poetic expression for twenty-two years. Gerberga died in 896; cf. Pfund, p. 19. Cf., too, *Aen.* 1.381, "bis denis...navibus"; 10.213, "proceres ter denis navibus ibant". These Poetic expressions occur frequently in Hrotsvit; cf. *Prim.* 316, 365, 395-396, 575, 583, *passim*.

483. *ab aethre*: for *ab aethere*; cf. Intro. p. 34, for other syncopated forms employed to accommodate the metre.

487. *sui vitam*: for *suam vitam*; cf. note, *Gest.* 151.

489. *proectu*: a Late Latin word, in the sense of "advance-ment" or "progress" is cited for Aug., Sidon., Pallad., Amm., et al. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 10.37.61, "de proectu...proximi delectari".

497. *mulceret*: cf. note, *Prim.* 422.

520. *genitoris ad instar*: the genitive with *instar* is Classical, but the use of *ad instar* is Late Latin; cf. L-Hof. p. 496. This is the only instance of its use noted in Hrotsvit's Epics. Newnan, p. 115, mentions that *instar* occurs twice alone, twice with *ad*.

523-525. This is one of the rare clues from which a faint outline of Hrotsvit's biography may be traced. "She came into the world long after the death of Otto the Illustrious". He died November 30, 912. Cf. Pfund, p. 21.

530. *urbicolis*: *urbi* here represents the monastery; hence

"those dwelling in the city of our monastery" or
"those dwelling with us, our sisters". Cf. note,
Gest. Prol. 2.3, for hybrids.

532. *vetiti...pomi*: for a similar expression cf. *Sedul.* 1.70,
"qui pereuntem hominem vetiti dulcedine pomi".

532-533. *pomi...quod...degustavere*: in this sense of tasted,
degustare is cited for Cato, Varro, Sall., Bell.
Alex., and Ov., before Silver and Late Latin. Cf.
Comm. Apol. 323, "degustato pomo"; *Ambr. Tob.* 50.28,
"tu poma degustas". This is the only occurrence of
its use noted in the Epics.

535. *pro dolor*: cf. note, *Gest.* 221.

For the date of Otto's death cf. note, *Prim.* 523-525.

539. *nostrates*: = Saxones.

540. *sui*: for *eorum*; cf. note, *Gest.* 151.

560. *requiem...perennem*: cf. note, *Gest.* 405.

564. *nascitur Henrico famosus filius Oddo*: Otto I, son of
Henry the Fowler was born November 23, 912.
famosus: cf. note, *Gest. Prol.* 2.20.

570. *procul dubio*: cf. note, *Prim.* 346.

574. *dominatrix*: cf. note, *Gest.* 404.

575. *decies denos septem...annos*: Oda died in 913, at the
age of 107 years. For the Poetical expression cf.
note, *Prim.* 480; verse 583.

583. *plus quam bis ternos...annos*: Christina died in 919.

587. *sectatrix*: feminine form of *sectator*; Hrotsvit shows a
special fondness for such feminized forms as *victrix*,
rectrix, *dominatrix*, *genetrix*, *proditrix*.

589-592. Hrotsvit seems to delight in varying her doxology: cf.
this one with *Diony.* 194, "...Patrem cum nato necnon cum
flamine sacro"; *Agn.* 372-375, "Omniparens verbi genitor

mundique creator, Qui, cum dilecto regnans retro tempora
nato amborumque coaeterno cum flamine sacro"; *Mar.* 891-
897.

594. *laudentes*: has been translated as *laudent* in order to
have a complete sentence at the end.

593-594. A prayer which seemingly includes all the important
personages of her poems. Strecker and Winterfeld sug-
gest a possible lacuna at the end, but Pfund and Barack
think it is complete and place a period.

DEO LAUS

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